A STUDY OF INTERCENSAL CHANGES IN URBAN HOUSING AVAILABILITY AND QUALITY IN ETHIOPIA: THE CASE OF OLD AND NEW REGIONAL CAPITALS

A Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
Addis Ababa University

In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Masters of Arts in Regional and Local Development Studies

Prepared by: MESKEREM SHAWUL
MAY, 2000

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The preparation of this research involved many persons and organizations to which I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude. I trust that the outcomes of this thesis are up to their expectations.

I would like to specially express my genuine gratitude to my advisor Dr. Solomon Mulugeta, for his constant follow-up and advice throughout the study.

I would also like to mention my family beside their unlimited financial, material and moral supports, my father Ato Shawul Areda for his high regards and editorial comments, and my mother W/ro Tsehaitu Tesgera also for her editorial comments and support. I am also deeply grateful to my sisters Kidist Shawul and Meretework Shawul for their unreserved logistical and technical support, my grandmother Mulunesh Feyssa for her prayers, and my brother Biniam Shawul for believing in me.

I would further like to take this opportunity to express my many thanks to Azeb Teffera and the library and documentation department staff of National Urban Planning Institute for the information without which this thesis would not have been possible. Moreover thanks are due to the Ministry of Works and Urban Development staff, the Urban Development Support Services staff, and the Central Statistical Authority staff who were generous with their time and information. I also benefited greatly from the discussions and advice of Etseguenet Abebe, thank you friend.

Finally to all of you who have been there for me and supported me from the inception of this thesis during the two years to this day thank you for your patience and guidance. I hope this work will add to the development studies and attempts in general.

ACRONYMS

AAMPPO: Addis Ababa Master Plan Project Office

CSA: Central Statistics Authority

ECA: Economic Commission of Africa

EMA: Ethiopian Mapping Authority

ETA: Ethiopian Telecommunication Authority

FDRE: Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

IGE: Imperial Government of Ethiopia

NUPI: National Urban Planning Institute

TGE: Transitional Government of Ethiopia

UDSS: Urban Development Support Services

UN: United Nations

UNCHS: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements

ABSTRACT

This study is based on the UN argument that everybody has the right to adequate shelter and that society for its welfare depends on the fulfillment of the basic needs: food, health, and shelter. As one aspect, the housing availability and quality in regional capitals of Ethiopia over the 1984-1994 period are explored here. Ethiopia witnessed a government change in 1991 together with an ideological and economic reform. The urban restructuring that followed this changes maintained 3 of the 12 previous regional administrative capitals while the rest 9 were given zonal center status. The redefinition also included 5 newly upgraded centers which all gained regional capital status. After a detailed examination of the 17 individual regional capitals the study established that there are considerable variations in the performance and in the pace of housing availability and quality between and within equal status centers. The major determinants were the favorable physical location, the easy access of building material and the households' capacities. The selection of the centers as administrative capitals induced overall improvements, which also influenced the pace. Yet it seems municipalities and local governments did not recognize nor had not the capacity to use this opportunity. The future still holds possibilities for long-term sustainable strategies across development centers to ultimately redress inequalities in the access to basic goods and services and to improve the living conditions of the urbanites.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Page

Page

LIST OF TABLES

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

LIST OF MAPS

Page

LIST OF ANNEXES

Page

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Statement of the Problem

1.1.1 Background

Today Ethiopia is the home of over 60 million people of which 15% live in urban areas (CSA, 1999). The country is currently following an ethnic and culture based decentralization policy through the establishment of regional states (TGE, 1992; FDRE, 1995). The decentralization program has introduced a new organization of space, which has two major aspects: Regionalization and Urban Hierarchy Restructuring. The promotion and development of intermediate cities as higher order service and industry centers is one sub-component of the decentralized urbanization strategy (Rondinelli, 1983). Following this strategy, Ethiopia redefined existing centers to form 9 regional capitals and 53 zonal centers.

The 'new' centers have different resource bases and are at different stages of development, which require different solutions to ultimately redress inequalities in the access to basic goods and services. Identification of long term sustainable strategies across regions are hence necessary, where the federal and regional resources are scarce and are unable to satisfy the needs of local communities specially in urban areas where the problem of unequal distribution is 'acutely concentrated' (Birke Yami, 1997). Moreover municipalities as important actors in these changing times need to be strengthened to improve the living conditions and standards of urbanites (Worku Yehualashet, 1993). Considering their new position in the urban hierarchy, the

National Urban Planning Institute has recently prepared and still is preparing Master Plans for some of the intermediate towns.

In line with this, residential land, which constitutes a greater share of the built-up environment of urban areas than any other single land use type, had made the housing sector an important aspect of urban planning (White, 1988; Field, 1993). Indeed during the last two to three decades a considerable work has been done on the urban housing problem of Ethiopia. However, little attention has been given to the spatial dimension of the problem, i.e. understanding the nature and extent of the variation of housing characteristics between urban areas. Yet to be able to differentiate the specific character of the housing problem of each urban area is a necessary step for development planners. This is so while dealing with policies and programs, which are meant to be successful at the regional and national level but also and mostly at the local level (White, 1988; Field, 1993; Worku Yehualashet, 1993, Arossi, 1994; Birke Yami, 1997). This is true particularly in light of the recent changes; an insight into this variation would be a step towards the huge task of alleviating regional inequalities, which is one of the main purposes of the decentralization strategy. It would also help to develop more realistic and applicable Master Plans, for the existing ones show signs of 'weakness' (Birke Yami, 1997; Eyob Dolicho, 1998).

> "Despite the enormous amount of financial material and manpower resources invested for the preparation of master plans their physical implementation does not seem to materialize as envisaged." (Tesfaye Derbe, 1997, p 73).

1.1.2 Statement of the Problem

This study is based on the UN argument that everybody has the right to adequate shelter and that housing as a basic necessity should be a central attention, whether at the local or national level, whether from the individual or the society's perspective.

> "Housing can be simply described as a place to live in peace, safety and dignity; as such it is recognized as a human right. This definition implies security, privacy, access to a means of making a livelihood, and a base from which to develop. Safety also implies a clean and healthy environment. To many housing represents an investment, a source of income and a symbol of permanence and security." (UNCHS, 1993, p 12)

As we enter the 21st century, 1.5 billion people living in urban areas, about ¼ of the world's population, are estimated to be homeless or inadequately housed. Though the housing problem is an international problem it is more of a crisis in urban areas of developing countries where the majority is said to live in 'life and health threatening' homes and neighborhoods. According to the World Health Organization some 50 000 people die everyday as a result of 'poor shelter', polluted water, and inadequate sanitation (UNCHS, 1993). Improvement of urban housing quality is thus a key issue in social development as the housing conditions have direct impact on individuals' health, happiness and productivity, which in turn are necessary inputs towards overall development (Hamer, 1987; Field, 1993; Mosses, 1993).

On the other hand, housing is also important to development in economic terms, if significant investment is put into the sector, because for the majority of urban household it is the largest item of expenditure after food and usually a major goal of family savings efforts (Lewis, 1981;

influential factors. Moreover, evidence has showed that topography and climate have further modifying powers. The housing situation in each country and each urban area is determined through unique combinations of influences from such factors and is thus as varied and complex as the societies it serves, while certain constant features dominate and shape the given area (Grimes, 1984; PADCO, 1998).

Into the new millenium the world's urbanization is growing about 3 times faster than the rural areas with the majority in the developing countries (UNCHS, 1996). The countries of Africa, although the least urbanized with about 33% of the population living in urban areas, exhibit the highest urban population growth rates in the world averaging 4.8 per annum over the last decade. Eastern Africa leads the way with the highest number of households and largest shelter stock, while Ethiopia accounts for the majority of this with about 30% of both the total households, and the total shelter stock (ECA, 1996). Yet the rapid population growth in cities and towns and the corresponding low level of economic development in Ethiopia has created a huge demand on municipalities. The size of cities has outpaced housing and infrastructure service provision, which was accelerated due to the disorganized land allocation system (Worku Yehualashet, 1993; Birke Yami, 1997).

The pressure was further aggravated due to the weak overall urban spatial organization and integration characterized by:

- The concentration of economic activities in Addis Ababa
- The state of underdevelopment of the smaller and intermediate towns

- The wide gap between urban and rural relations
- The complete isolation of urban centers in the peripheries

On the other hand about 4 million urbanites, almost 2/3 of the total urban population in Ethiopia, are 'surviving', according to the World Bank, below the poverty line (240 Birr). Since 1974 up until 1991, the provision of housing and basic amenities was controlled and financed by the central government public enterprises. However the public enterprises were limited in their capacity and were unable to meet the demands and the private sector was marginalized by 'deliberate' policy action.

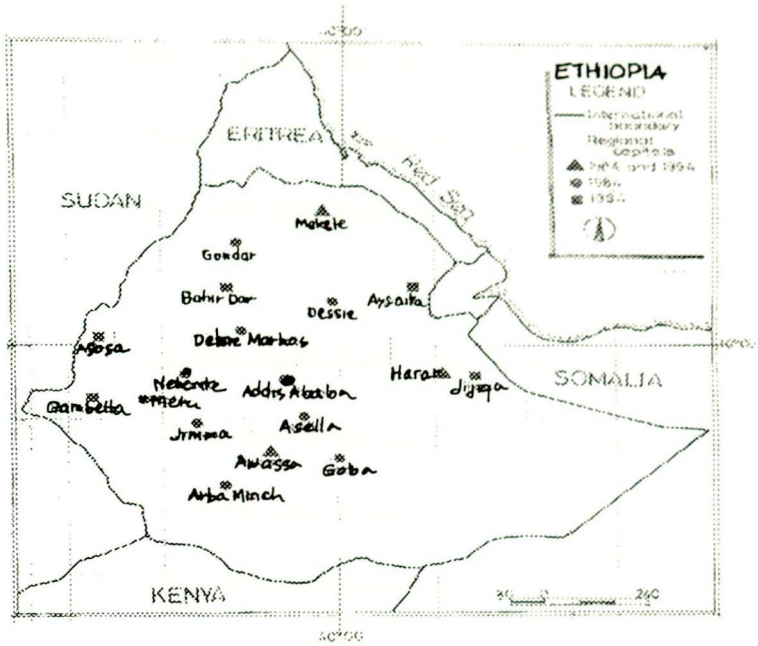
After 1991, the market oriented strategy of the new government allowed the participation of the private sector in development activities all over the country together with the expansion of these activities away from Addis Ababa to intermediate cities. This has opened new possibilities for overall development and for the shrinking of regional inequalities in general development and in particular improvement of the housing availability and quality especially in intermediate cities (Birke Yami, 1997).

Scope of the study: Considerations on housing conditions date back to early times of raising structures as shelters, but focus on their interregional variations, as a field of study is a relatively recent phenomenon. The literature on the subject is sparse and most of the works are not comprehensive, hence there exist some loose ends. To study the details of the factors that led to such variations would be an interesting step towards solving the puzzle of development planning. The broad problem to be investigated in this paper is concerned with spatial variation

of urban housing in Ethiopia. Yet considering that housing is a highly complex system of interconnected activities, it is necessary to narrow the scope of problem examination to limited variables for ease of understanding (Hartman, 1965; Field, 1993).

More specifically the attempt here is to explore the nature and extent of the changes in housing availability and quality brought about by the redefinition of regional capitals in Ethiopia during the intercensal period 1984-1994. The 1990s urban restructuring maintained 3 of the 12 previous regional administrative capitals: Awassa, Harar, and Mekelle. Meanwhile the rest 9 centers: Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba, Gondar, Jimma, Metu and Nekemte were given zonal centers status. The redefinition as part of the decentralization program also included 5 newly upgraded centers: Asosa, Aysaita, Bahir Dar, Gambella, and Jijiga, which all gained regional capital status (see map 1). The 1984-1994 period was also an important intercensal period, for 1984 was the year of the first nationwide census while 1994 was the second nation wide census year. It would be interesting to examine the changes occurred in these 10 years. A word of warning is necessary here: the research does not include the study of housing supply and demand but strictly considers the distribution of housing over the regional centers.

MAP – 1 LOCATION MAP OF REGIONAL CAPITALS



Research question: In line with this, the following will serve as guiding questions for investigating the spatial variation of housing characteristics between former and current regional capitals: 1- How does housing availability vary between the selected towns as measured in terms of the occupancy ratio and tenure security? 2- How does housing quality vary between the selected towns as measured in terms of room density, construction permanence, and the availability of basic facilities and utilities? 3- What changes have taken place in housing availability and quality in the selected towns during the intercensal period? 4- How did change of status of regional capitals affect housing availability and quality in the selected towns?

1.2 Objectif and Methodology

1.2.1 Objective of the Study

General objective: In light of the above background statement on the subject, the primary objective of this study is to assess the spatial and temporal variations in housing availability and quality in the selected intermediate towns of Ethiopia.

Specific objectives: More specifically attempts will be made:

1- To examine the spatial variation of housing availability and quality in the country with special reference to the case of the 17 selected towns

2- To assess the intercensal variation in housing availability and quality in the selected towns

3- To identify the major factors that underline the spatio-temporal pattern of housing availability and quality in the selected towns

1.2.2 Methodology

a) Data Collection Method

Instruments: In general terms the data collection instruments to be employed to achieve the objectives of the research, are document analysis and informal interviews and discussions:

- **Document analysis:** Document analysis here involves examining the effects of spatial variation on housing quality and availability through the analysis of related written documents, which involves the analysis of related empirical evidence be it raw data, aggregate or in summary form. It also involves the analysis of related mass communication and publications for public information, entertainment, or persuasion purposes.

- **Interviews:** Interviews here involve examining the effects of spatial variation on housing quality and availability through the analysis of unstructured informal interviews on the subject.

Sources: The sources used in the data collection are as varied as the instruments used and have been carefully selected to ensure reliability and validity as much as possible, for the purpose of this thesis.

- **Written document sources:** Data & information from different official research documents, publications, books and other literatures related to the problem have been analyzed and gathered. The main data sources will be the Census data of 1984 and 1994, statistical records, reports and abstracts on population size, housing characteristics and socio-economic surveys. The variety of material intended to inform, entertain or persuade the public are also used here whether periodicals, TV programs, journal columns, radio sessions or related proclamations decrees and laws.
- **Interviews:** To get further information and to double check the reliability and validity of the data collected through the above methods, informal interviews that include key officials from the various institutions, which are related to the problem, are used. The institutions are mainly government organizations such as the Ministry of Works and Urban Development (MWUD), the Ministry of Economic Development and Co-operation (MEDaC), the National Urban Planning Institute (NUPI), and the Central Statistics Authority (CSA). These same institutions have provided for the majority of document, maps and statistical data.

b) Data Analysis Method

This study seeks to pursue new lines of inquiry by organizing the existing data in a different set of relationship, which is hoped to be a new input. The method of analysis will be mainly qualitative comparison.

Instruments of analysis: In order to have a clear picture and to attain the objectives stated it is found appropriate to examine the nature of the variation in housing quality and availability with respect to possible associated phenomenon through the use of descriptive statistics as analysis method for this study. To test the possible association between variables the methods to be used will be percentages, ratios, and means. These are useful in obtaining a precise measure of whether an association of cause and effect variables exists. For illustration purposes figures and maps will be used to present the spatial distribution of the variations in housing availability and quality.

Nature of variables: Though in general variables must be selected within a theoretical frame of reference there are no as such clear theoretical development to variations in housing quality. Hence the variables selected in this study while depending on past experience and research outcomes, are not confined to any single theory of the housing problem. The analysis of data deals mainly with the assessment of the role of households and housing characteristics on housing quality and availability. This study will attempt to explore the operational modifications required and will investigate the extent to which this kind of analysis opens new perspectives on the nature of regional inequalities in a developing country.

1.3 Significance and Limitation

1.3.1 Significance of the Study

To date much housing research in Ethiopia has taken the form of systematic analyses of particular aspects of the housing system or of the roles of individual actors in the system. Relatively no attempts have been made to compare the inter-urban or inter-regional spatial variations of these aspects of the housing system. Consequently housing availability and quality is an endless topic of research that needs to be studied. The undertaking of this research will be a step towards understanding the area specific problems and planning for area specific solutions, which is part of the recently held powers of the regional states. The decentralisation reform has given regions the right to allocate their resources in a manner that reflects best their needs (FDRE, 1995, article 52).

> "Urban development is a reflection of the development of the national economy. A rise or fall in the overall economic activity has a direct

> bearing in the provision of housing, infrastructure services and jobs in the urban area." (Abdella Jemal, 1997, p. 167)

In these last years resource rich regions have given heavy emphasis on resource base development while resource poor regions have given heavy emphasis on their social development and capacity building (Tegegn Gebre Egziabher, 1996). Accordingly intermediate towns, as the main centers of growth are concentrating on building up their capacity for unloading the burden from the Primate City, Addis Ababa and redistributing to the small towns and rural areas. With the devolution of power from central to regional, many functions that were centered in Addis Ababa are now the responsibilities of regions creating opportunities for expansion of employment and increasing demand for goods and services in regional towns (Baker, 1994). In such a task, the availability of adequate housing will be of prime focus (Tesfaye Derbe, 1990). This research will thus help to show the different directions to take in different towns, in the study and planning for future housing provision.

> "If the purpose of research is to change and improve reality as well as to understand it then perhaps priorities for research must reflect the problems facing particular local communities." (Kirby, 1983, p. 36).

The outcome of this study can be used by government bodies, investors and others to get a complete, organised and timely information about the housing situation in intermediate towns. It will give insight on further research to development students, planners and decision-makers.

1.3.2 Limitation of the Study

While conducting a research of this magnitude, limitations due to various reasons are inevitable. The major ones are presented below as encountered along the paths of the study:

- Some inadequacies of basic information made the generation of data for the analyses in this research a difficult task.
- In the census, questions of interest are sometimes not addressed in a fashion that is consistent with the current interests.
- There is considerable ambiguity surrounding the meanings of basic terms, yet...

> "In order for housing research to be carried out at all, the problematic nature of fundamental concepts is conventionally ignored. This is inevitable and necessary, at least to a certain extent, if housing research is not to be abandoned as impossible." (Kemeny, 1992, p. 24-25).

The results of this study should therefore be taken as indicative, rather than conclusive.

1.4 Contextual and Operational Definitions

1.4.1 Contextual Definitions

The terms used here for simplicity's sake are mostly as per the Central Statistics Authority's definition of them (CSA, 1998a, CSA, 1998b; CSA, 1999).

Urban center: Locality in principle with 2000 or more inhabitants. However for practical purposes an urban center includes regardless of the number of inhabitants all administrative capitals of regions, zones and Weredas, localities with Kebeles or Urban Dwellers Associations. It also includes localities having population of 1000 or more persons whose inhabitants are primarily engaged in non-agricultural activities (CSA, 1998b, p 7; CSA, 1999, p 18).

Housing quality: The quality of the housing unit is determined by its structure, construction material, number of rooms, housing facilities and amenities, tenure status and monthly rent, and density of occupation (CSA, 1998a, p 291-292).

Household: A group of persons who often live in the same housing unit or in connected premises and have common arrangements for cooking and eating food. A household could consist of a single person, but usually it consists of a husband, his wife, their children, relatives and some other persons residing together in the household;

Member of household: Person constituting a household;

Household size: Total number of members of a household;

Conventional households: Households residing in the same housing unit and having common cooking arrangements (eating their food together) (CSA, 1998a, p. 10).

Head of household: Any member of a household who economically supports or manages the household, or for reasons of age or respect is considered as head, or declares oneself as head and is recognized as such by the members (CSA, 1998a, p 11-12; CSA, 1998b, p 6).

Housing Unit: A separate and independent place of abode either intended for habitation or not intended for habitation but is occupied as a living quarter by a household (CSA, 1998a, p 291). Housing also refers to the related infrastructure and community facilities besides the dwelling unit (Tilahun Fekade, 1997, p 127);

Non-conventional housing units: Collective quarters and homeless;

Collective quarters: Housing unit in which a number of unrelated persons reside together and share common facilities;

Homeless persons: Individuals without any fixed residence (CSA, 1998a, p. 10).

Room: A space enclosed by walls reaching from the floor to the ceiling or roof at least to a height of 2m and having an area of at least $4m^2$ (i.e. a size large enough to hold a bed for an adult). Except for bathrooms, toilets and passage ways, other rooms found in the housing unit were considered as rooms (DCSA, 1998a, p. 292).

Kitchen: A room primarily used for cooking meals; a modern kitchen is a room that has piped water and sink (CSA, 1998a, p. 292).

Tenure: Arrangements under which the household occupied its living quarters;

Owner occupied housing unit: Owned by the occupant household and free from rent;

Rented housing unit: Households paying rent to Kebele or Agency for Administering Rented Houses or private individuals or other organizations (CSA, 1998a, p. 292).

1.4.2 Operational Definitions

Regional Capitals: In this study regional capitals refers strictly to the 17 urban centers under consideration over the intercensal period 1984-1994. The centers were regional capitals in 1984 and or are regional capitals in 1994. For the purposes of this study the regional centers have been categorized into the following three groups (see map 1, 2, and 3).

- **"Demoted" Centers (DC)**: are centers that have been restructured during the 1991 change of government from regional capitals to zonal capitals and gave up some of their previous regional coverage. These regional centers are Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba, Gondar, Jimma, Metu, and Nekemte.

- **"Existing" Centers (EC)**: are centers that have kept their regional capital status along with enhanced powers through the restructuring program over the considered intercensal period. These centers are Awassa, Harar, and Mekelle.
- **"Promoted" centers (PC)**: are centers that have been restructured during the 1984-94 period from Awraja (district) centers to regional administrative capitals with even greater coverage.

1.5 Organization of the study

The paper is organized in seven general chapters. The first chapter deals with the background and statement of the problem while the second chapter explores the related conceptual and theoretical backgrounds. The third chapter introduces the profile of the study areas through a detailed description of the physical set-up, the historical background, the land use pattern, and the population characteristics. The fourth and the fifth chapters describe the housing availability and quality in the regional capitals while the sixth chapter attempts to identify and examine possible factors that influence positively or negatively the performance and the pace of the housing availability and quality in regional centers. The final seventh chapter presents the summary and forwards some possible recommendations.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

> "The aim of macro analysis is developing concepts at a more meaningful level of abstraction so as to make possible the understanding of the whole system and to provide a conceptual framework into which to put the micro descriptions." (Smith, 1973, 126).

2.1 Theoretical Background

Society for its welfare depends on values, such as the pursuit of happiness, prosperity, social interaction, and most important on the fulfillment of the basic human needs, food, health, and shelter (Miles, 1985; Hopkins, 1986; Mitchell, 1992). Development is such a process society aims at to achieve as part of its well being and that of its individual human beings. This includes the security of people in their environment, communities, at their jobs but first and most of all in their homes (Miles, 1985; Todaro, 1992; Haq, 1995). Yet the study of spatial dimension of housing in the context of geography and economic science is only a recent phenomenon (Kirby, 1983; Ayele Tirfie, 1987). Its theoretical basis, regionalization, was brought about in the late 1950s and 1960s by the need to promote an equitable spread of not only economic but also

social growth opportunities within and between regions taking human objectives as central in the planning process.

Though to date there are no established frameworks the model mostly preferred for settlement structuring in the regionalization strategy is the theory of central places. Central place theory came into consideration first with Von Thunen's location theory and was later on further developed by various scholars of whom Chirstaller's service centers and Losch's industry centers are famous ones. Despite the difference in approach all adepts of the theory agree that there is the possibility for influencing the development of such centers through planning (Johnson, 1970). The concept of central places as development centers basically states that the spatial concentrations of population, infrastructure, and economic activities brings higher advantages and generates savings. Development is then achieved as the spread of innovations between development centers and to surrounding areas through 'propulsive' service and industrial activities which must be carefully selected to reflect local need and where the transportation and communication paths become the development axes (Ayele Tirfie, 1987).

> "The urban economy is an essential part of the national economy. Leading economic activities take place in the urban sector, innovations are diffused and flows of goods and services circulate through the network of cities, therefore the efficiency of cities is vital to the competitive position of a country's economy." (Renaud, 1984, p. 10).

Rondinelli (1983) argues for middle level central places, after the capital city, which carry functional responsibilities of industrial production and provision of businesses and services of a higher order. These centers are supposed to have well-developed infrastructure facilities and financial institutions and hence to generate high value products and higher level services. In

developing countries usually it is the commercial centers and storage locations for agricultural products that are also selected to serve as higher order regional administration centers. But because these functions are not based on and do not consider the activities of their physical surroundings, the process has in the long run led to the underdevelopment of middle level urban centers. It has also created gaps in the urban system hierarchy and weakened the urban-rural link in developing countries (Devas, 1993; Worku Yehualashet, 1993; Baker, 1994).

At the micro level the impact on the potential of the town is translated through the changes in the employment structure, the population dynamics and the housing conditions which are the 3 main interrelated activities, of a town.

> "Urbanization, which occurred without adequate industrialization, sufficient formal employment or secure wages has condemned burgeoning urban population in the Third World to poor-quality housing." (Dickenson, 1983, p. 185).

On the other hand, housing as a sector has proven to have great potentials to boost overall development. For instance it contributes to:

- Higher rate of investment by attracting private savings into financial institutions
- Capital formation through capital yields in terms of rent and positive changes in asset values
- Employment generation in housing related activities as a form of labor intensive industry
- Income redistribution in the form of mass public housing investment schemes
- Collateral asset for development investment
- Capacity building of human resources.

Therefore the effect of urban status on housing quality and more specifically its spatial variation becomes a center of interest, attested by the study of the nature and pattern of housing quality, which has had a long and continuing history (Abrams, 1964; White, 1988; Kemeny, 1992; Nientied, 1994). Further more the housing sector is the primary source of revenue for most local governments and plays a role in national economies and social policies as component of the urbanizing and general development processes (Coons, 1963; IGE, 1967; Hamer, 1987; White, 1988; Kemeny, 1992; Worku Yehualashet, 1997). Housing is considered not only in terms of material value but also in terms of 'human use value'. The content of the social values involved in housing study ranges all the way from the quest for basic shelter to achieving status in the community (IGE, 1967, White, 1988).

Housing location is one aspect, which is important, for it determines access to services and facilities such as workplaces, schools, shopping areas, recreation, health centers... In so far as persons are judged by the quality or location and type of their housing it provides a measure of relative status. In this 'post-shelter society' era for persons who own their own housing it has become the major household investment, either as an asset or to operate from it (White, 1988; Kosemberg, 1989; Arossi, 1994; Field, 1993; ECA, 1996; Tilahun Fekade, 1997). International thinking shifted towards this broader definition of housing in the late 1960s (Coons, 1963; Abrams, 1964; IGE, 1967; Nientied, 1994). Yet though all accept its broad definition, there has always been a considerable difference of opinion (table 1-1) and debate as to what adequate or decent housing is (Kirby, 1983; Kemeny, 1992; Nientied, 1994).

Table1-1: Approaches to housing and residential structure

Approach	Wider social theory	Areas of inquiry
Ecological	Human ecology	Spatial patterns of residential structure
Neo-classical	Neo-classical economics	Utility maximization consumer choice
Institutional Manegerialism Locational conflict	Weberian sociology	Gatekeepers, housing constraints power groupings, conflict
Marxist	Historical materialism	Housing as a commodity reproduction of labor force
Behavioral	Decision-making	Decision to move, search and choice of a new home

Source: Kirby, D. A., 1983. Housing, process in urban geography, Ed M. Pacione, p. 9, New Jersey.

In theory, for intra-urban spatial patterns, residential differentials have either demand-based explanations or supply based explanations, and recently policy based explanations.

Demand based explanations have 3 distinct lines of investigation:

- Neo-classical approach explains it through household and firm competition for space where the residential location decision becomes a 'trade off' between the cost of land and the cost of commuting.
- Ecological approach explains it through the process of invasion and succession, in which a city grows and expands as a result of the buildup pressure in the central area.
- Behavioral approach explains it through the household decision to move, to search, and to choose a new home.

Supply based explanation is mainly the managerial approach, which explains it through the influence and intervention of estate agents, landlords, developers and builders, financial institutions, and central and local government on residential location, standards, finance and land use regulations (Kirby, 1983; Kemeny, 1992; Field, 1993; Nientied, 1994).

Policy based explanation is mainly the Marxist approach which explains it through the nature of the state and its consequences or its degree of involvement as enabling, facilitating and or regulating organ where housing is seen as a public good (Kirby, 1983; Kemeny, 1992; Field, 1993; Nientied, 1994).

In the wider context housing is no longer seen as basic shelter only but as a process, an activity, which is a part of the framework and structure of community life in neighborhood and in the whole society. It touches many aspects of socio-economic and cultural change but also aspects of spatial differentiation (White, 1988; Tilahun Fekade, 1997). Hence, it may seem strange that in light of the widespread interest in the subject, little or no attention has been given to the inter-urban comparative aspects of it at all.

2.2 Housing Quality

> "Houses are not alike: they differ in quality, price, size, type, location, tenure and associated facilities, etc." (Field, 1993, p. 72).

New development in a society restructures longstanding relationships to such an extent that traditional analytical approaches are gradually re-enhanced by new ones. In a similar manner the definition of housing has over the years broadened to encompass far more needs than only protecting people from the elements.

The housing quality thus includes:

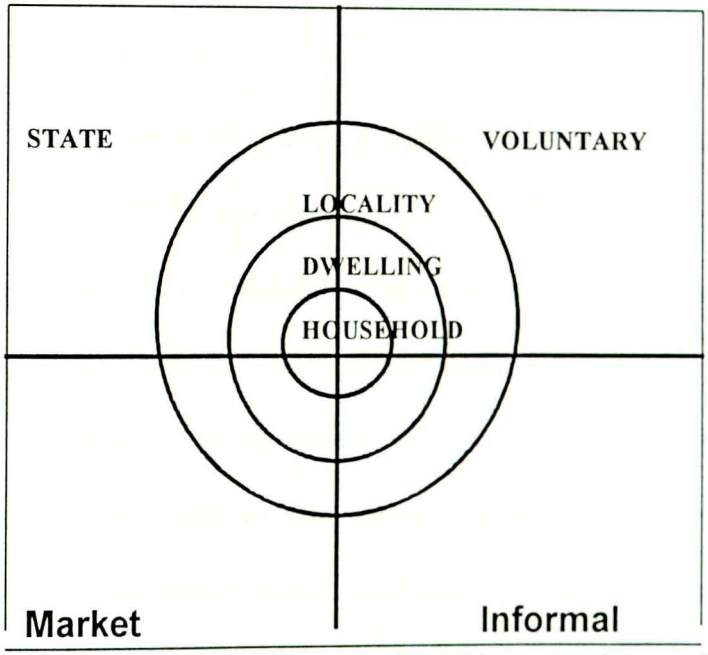
1- The quality of the dwelling unit and physical environment

2- The quality and level of provision of municipal services and related infrastructure such as access roads, water and electricity supply, sewerage network...

3- The quality of the neighborhood and community services and related facilities such as schools, health centers, police, recreation...

Housing studies could be at the level of household, i.e. social studies, or at the housing unit level, i.e. geographical studies, or at the locality level, i.e. regional studies (see figure-1).

Figure-1 Dimensions of housing and forms of welfare



Source: Kemeny, 1992. Housing and social theory, Routledge, p. 78, London.

Measurement of spatial and temporal variations is only possible through the representation of the working definition in a balanced set of variables. Hence conceptualizing housing will consist of shifts from analysis of predominantly social and individual to predominantly spatial and collective, and vice versa. There is much literature describing the components of housing quality but there can be no unanimous agreement. In general components are chosen which allow the quality of 'housing' to be measured. The indicators of housing quality chosen to measure quality are complex, and a prevalent rule had been to try as much as possible to choose indicators which measure distributional aspects. These would either show the percentage of the population above a minimum standard or both maximum and minimum standards, which has the advantage of pointing the necessity of redistribution. Another direction is to consider input and output indicators, which help set policy targets (Knox, 1974; Koelle, 1974; Hall, 1984; Hopkins, 1986; Hamer, 1987; Walley, 1988).

Though there is no one single strategy a number of general national considerations can be applied across regions under one approach or target. The targets would have variation from place to place to allow for physical difference while maintaining comparability for purposes of identifying which areas have been relatively successful and for use as guidance in formulating most appropriate policies. Bearing these considerations in mind, an evaluation of changes in housing quality must start with an adequate working definition, the broadest and widely used distinction being between housing which meets building code standards and housing which does not. (Knox, 1974; Koelle, 1974; Kirby, 1983; Hall, 1984; Hopkins, 1986; Hamer, 1987; Walley, 1988; Kemeny, 1992).

Housing quality is a mirror reflecting the character of the social structure, the standards of living and the level of technological development of the population. It could thus be measured in terms of country specifics: regional distribution of settlements, infrastructure availability, transportation within and near settlements, house location and architecture, availability of services, etc.. (Coons, 1963; Abrams, 1964; IGE, 1967; Knox, 1974; Koelle, 1974; Kirby, 1983; Hall, 1984; Hopkins, 1986; Hamer, 1987; Walley, 1988; White, 1988; AAMPPO, 1984; Kemeny, 1992; Nientied, 1994; Tilahun Fekade, 1997; CSA, 1998a).

In the Ethiopian context, as a result of its development state and relatively rapid urban population growth, there is a 'general' deterioration of housing quality and availability expressed in overcrowding, low access to social and physical infrastructure, irregular land use patterns, environmental damages, etc. (Tilahun Fekade, 1997; Eyob Dolicho, 1998). This research attempts to uncover what does 'general' hide in terms of spatial variations at least in regional centers and over the intercensal period (1984-1994). For this the components of housing quality considered here are that of the Central Statistical Authority (CSA) (CSA, 1998a; CSA, 1998b; CSA, 1999).

The CSA presents the detail information on characteristics of the population including household size, ethnic group, religion, activity rate, literacy status, etc. The information collected also indicates for each housing unit the type of building, water supply, toilet, lighting, etc. This information will be backed with that of NUPI on each of the centers. Except for Dessie, the master plan of which was under preparation at the time of this study, and for Metu

and Goba, which master plans were not yet prepared (NUPI, 1989a; 1989b; 1993; 1994; 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; 1995d; 1995e; 1996; 1997a; 1997b; 1998a; 1998b; 1998c). The executive summaries of each selected town present each structured and up to date information on the physical aspects such as location, topography, and climate of the urban settlements. The demographic aspects such as the population characteristics, the infrastructure provision, the urban economic base, and the urban land use pattern and trend are also indicated in the same documents.

> "In Third World studies there is as yet series of scattered case studies and very little more. Further in terms of coverage such studies are heavily biased towards the largest cities and the smaller urban places have so far been grossly neglected. In large part the problem of generalization also involves the available statistics for they are all too often demonstrably crude, incomplete and inexact." (Dwyer, 1975, p. 7).

Research has been conducted on the general 'housing problem', and into some more specific aspects such as housing markets, housing finance, housing policy... however few researchers have considered the spatial character of housing, and if so only in combination to other factors, which diminishes its own importance. Nevertheless, these have made contributions to the sector, which are not to be neglected.

2.3 Previous studies

For several decades now researchers have tried to formulate a conceptual framework for analysis of inequalities between regions and between urban areas that recognizes well being and urbanization as multidimensional indicators of levels of living (Haq, 1995). Studies of this sort

abound from the 1960s onward, but because of their emphasis on housing the following reviewed studies stand as particularly valuable sources for the purpose of this study. Though the sample was not exhaustive, the main principle of selection was that the study should present a spatial analysis of the various aspects of the housing sector. The studies reviewed were 15 in number and of these, 4 were on developed countries, 5 were on transitional and developing nations, and 6 were specifically on Ethiopia. Though they have different outcomes, these studies have all considered inter-urban and or intra-urban variations, which is of interest to this study.

In the studies reviewed spatial variation has invariably been taken as the main theme to be explained. The explaining variables have generally been treated in-groups of factors composing one sector or other involved in the analysis. In the majority of the cases the attempt is made to investigate over time the relationship between quality of level of living and location, or rate of urbanization and location. For example Hartman (1965) while investigating the nature and characteristics of the spatial variation of substandard housing demonstrated that there is regional variation and differentiation and that low income and ethnic minority are factors associated with 'substandardness'.

Research into spatial variations has used several data collection methods, from primary field surveys to mostly secondary census analysis for their wide coverage and thoroughness. (Coons, 1964; Hartman, 1965; Brush, 1968; Harris, 1971; Lakshmanan, 1978; Fusch, 1983; Rondinelli, 1983; Hall, 1984; Kleinman, 1984; Diamantini, 1996; Tegegn Gebre Egziabher, 1997; Tesfaye Derbe, 1997). For example Fusch (1983) used detail maps and reports on housing characteristics to show that location influence house architecture, which in turn influence city-

scape and that these alterations vary across time. In another study, Tesfaye Derbe (1997) used census data and other government sources to investigate the spatial distribution of urban centers and the extent of urban-rural integration.

Though not all are in agreement, several conceptual frameworks and study techniques were developed for monitoring regional variations in well being and level of urbanization disaggregated into measurable components. (Coons, 1964; Hartman, 1965; Brush, 1968; Harris, 1971; Lakshmanan, 1978; Fusch, 1983; Rondinelli, 1983; Hall, 1984; Kleinman, 1984; Ayele Tirfie, 1987; Diamantini, 1996; Tegegn Gebre Egziabher, 1997; Tesfaye Derbe, 1997).

In most cases the results are transferred to maps to show spatial variations (Hartman, 1965; Harris, 1971; Fusch, 1983; Hall, 1984; Tesfaye Derbe, 1997). For example, Hall (1984) using multivariate factor analyses of adapted socio-economic well being factors, noted that there are regional inequalities in levels of living reflecting regional variations in age of settlement, structure of the economy, level of urbanization and government investment.

Spatial variations in population density, housing characteristics, distributions of urban services and infrastructure have a range of consequences that restrict or encourage growth of a town. The position of a particular town in the urban hierarchy, the level of urban-rural integration and well being depends on such factors. (Coons, 1964; Hartman, 1965; Brush, 1968; Harris, 1971; Lakshmanan, 1978; Fusch, 1983; Rondinelli, 1983; Hall, 1984; Kleinman, 1984; Ayele Tirfie, 1987; Diamantini, 1996; Tegegn Gebre Egziabher, 1997; Tesfaye Derbe, 1997). For example Harris (1971) noted that the major regional contrast in the rate of increase of the urban

population during a certain period were due mainly to the difference in the stages of impact of the urban and demographic 'revolutions' that each region has reached. Another, Rondinelli (1983) found that the absence until recently of intermediate cities in the urban systems of developing countries was mainly due to the lack of indigenous socio-economic functions, which should have developed in those cities. It is these that generate demand for domestically produced goods or would make urban services and facilities available to a large majority of population.

Similarly, Lakshmanan (1978) after several cross spatial and temporal detail empirical investigations discovered that changes in housing consumption in a country reflect its level of development. In the early stages of development, other sectors of consumption such as food tend to have stronger claims, but over time, housing consumption increases as a hedge against the erosion of savings, to finally reach a steady stage, with affluence, and many new commodities enter the consumption stream.

2.4 The Ethiopian Case

The concept of regional capitals as higher order development centers gained worldwide importance in the late 1970s. It was seen as a 'method to stimulate the economies' of the rural majority in order to prevent premature migration and decrease regional inequalities in developing countries. The choice of administrative centers was mainly based on their strategic position favorable to the political interests of the time. Hence most intermediate cities though of same status in the urban hierarchy present variations in size and development opportunities.

These in turn are reflected on the housing availability and quality. Ethiopian regional centers went through distinct development opportunities, which are worth mentioning here.

2.4.1 The pre 20th century era

Regional capitals in Ethiopia existed since the period of the Axumite State, where several important towns and ports served as centers of commerce, administration and culture. These towns formed networks of caravan trade routes connecting the interiors of the country with its ports. Yet the importance of these centers declined until the end of the 19th century due to continuous wars, and the frequent transfer of capitals from one military headquarter to another for defense reasons, and the resultant limited trade exchange. (Baker, 1994; Fanos Habte Wold, 1994; Diamantini, 1996; Britannica CD, 1997).

2.4.2 The beginning of the 20th century

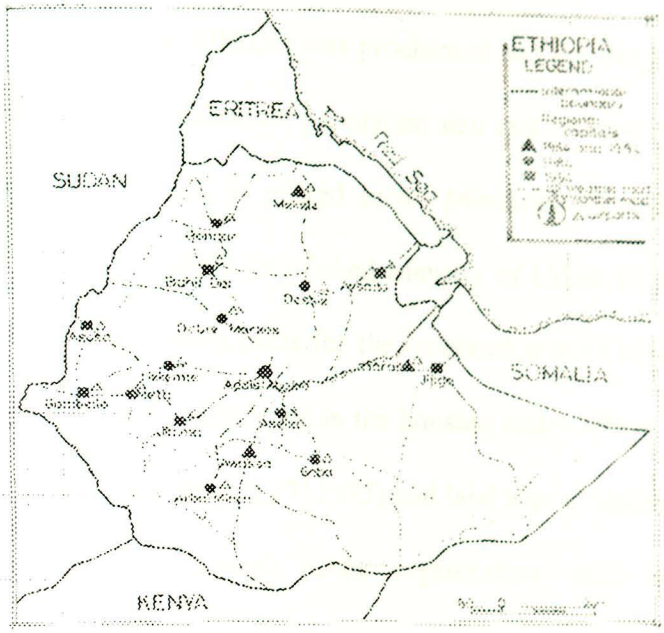
As a country that has only been marginally affected by European colonial expansion unlike the rest of Africa, Ethiopia's urbanization was mainly due to the centralization of political power, which began during the second half of the 19th century and the foundation of Addis Ababa as the new capital. The beginning of the 20th century saw the accelerated development of many existing urban centers and the creation of new ones. This recent phenomenon is attributed partly to Emperor Menelik's expansion crusades, partly to the Italian invasion and partly to the advent of motorcars and roads as main transport networks (IGE, 1967; EMA, 1988; Baker, 1994; Fanos Habte Wold, 1994; Diamantini, 1996; Britannica CD, 1997).

Menelik's territorial expansion to the south, west and east of the country was for reasons of control over the southern trade routes and for security purposes. It had resulted in the emergence of 'garrison towns' in those regions selected for their military strategic importance as defense sites against possible enemy attacks.

The Italian Invasion (1936-41) led to the first deliberate attempts in Ethiopia, though for a brief period to establish and guide the growth of cities. The Italian regulation plans were based on traditional zoning systems of functions that strengthened the selected regional centers as military bases to facilitate colonial rule. (Mondadori, 1941; Diamantini, 1996).

The development of transport networks and the first municipal structuring of urban centers contributed to the further development of the regional centers. In 1942, urban centers were legally acknowledged (decree n.1/ 1942) and 3 years later the first Ethiopian municipalities were hierarchically established (proclamation n.74/ 1945). The main duties and powers, which are still in use today require all municipal councils to be self-sufficient in the provision of public services such as allocation of land, water, light, roads, drains and sewerage systems. It also includes the provision of market areas, police stations, abattoirs, cemetery and garbage disposal sites, fire brigades, welfare institutions, public toilets and baths. (AAMPPO, 1984; Fanos Habte Wold, 1994; Diamantini, 1996).

MAP – 2 TRANSPORT NETWORK OF REGIONAL CAPITALS

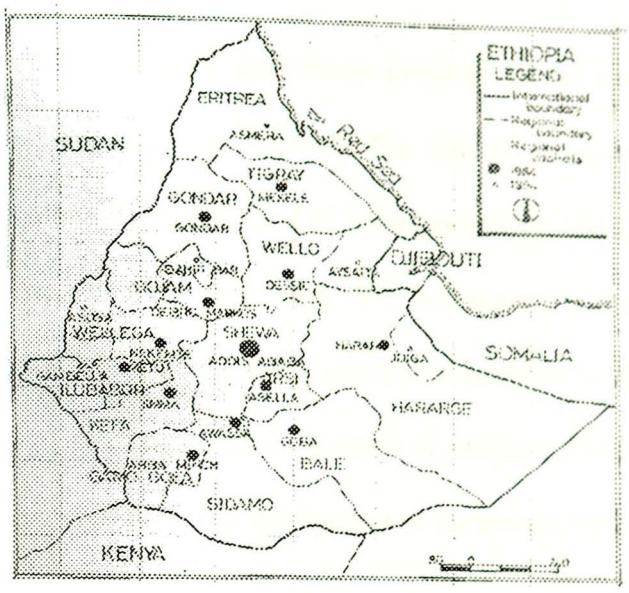


In the 1950s and 1960s a system of major-link roads developed around the capital city branching throughout the country from the 'old regional capitals' of the north to the 'military checkpoints' of the south. Furthermore, new centers developed at the nodes of these transport networks that connected the whole nation (Fanos Habte Wold, 1994; Diamantini, 1996). In 1967, according to the then proposed development programs, the Municipalities Department prepared 40 master plans for the major towns of Ethiopia. The proposals included land use outlines, major hierarchical access roads with mainly gridiron layouts, and additional public services, which served in guiding the development of the towns for quite some time and significantly contributed to the present morphology of most the intermediate towns. (EMA, 1988; Britannica CD, 1997)

2.4.3 The Derg Era 1974-1991

In 1974 socialist Ethiopia was proclaimed and the Derg government restructured the municipal hierarchy to be based on population size and to have additional powers (proclamation n.207/ 1981) accountable to related sector Ministries through branch offices. The Town Planning Section of the newly established Ministry of Urban Development and Housing prepared detail land use parcellation plans for the redefined centers based on their previous master plans. The government also intervened in the housing sector where it nationalized all urban land and extra houses (proclamation n.47/ 1975) and land was allocated freely for homebuilders. Extra houses were managed through public organizations such as Kebeles and the Agency for the Administration of Rented Houses and some times were rented at half their previous prices. Housing finance was also provided at a subsidized interest rate. Meanwhile private involvement in the real estate business was outlawed.

MAP –3 REGIONAL COVERAGE OF CAPITALS IN 1984



In general the period from 1974 to 1991 witnessed interminable military conflicts and recurrent drought and famine; as well as the acceleration of Addis Ababa's primacy while the urbanization process in other parts of the country was slowing. Towns in regions like Wello, Tigray, Gojjam, Gondar, and Hararghe were isolated and vulnerable due to political instability. Furthermore the Detail Plans became quickly obsolete, as they did not presumably respect the topographic conditions but mainly because local municipalities' 'effort at implementation' did not confirm to the plans rather the towns continued to grow haphazardly. (Fanos Habte Wold, 1994; Diamantini, 1996).

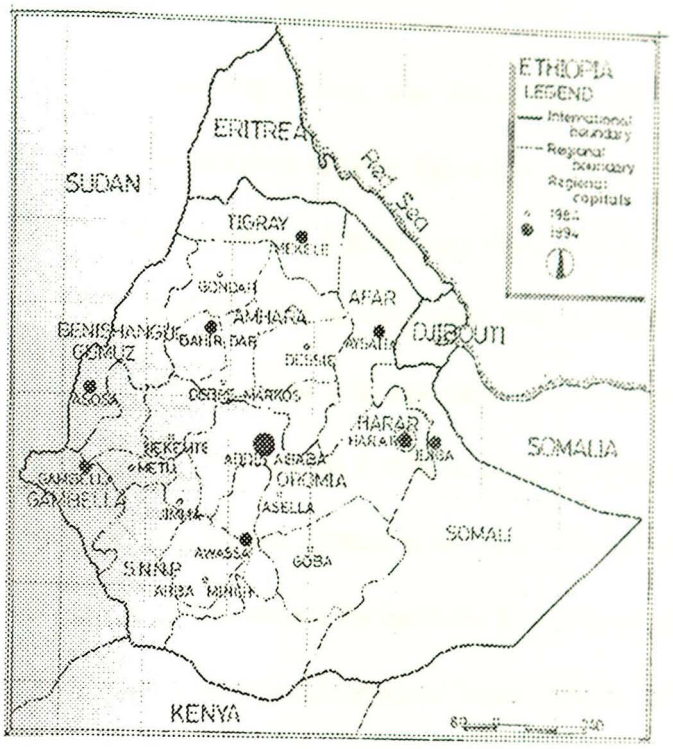
> "... Next to the countryside, the urban world evolved slowly. Amongst the causes were the limited interaction with the rural world, the effect of protectionism policies, nationalization of land and the meager impulses given to the modernization of the economy and administration." (Diamantini, 1996, p. 17).

2.4.4 The Post Derg Era

The 1991 change of government involved a brief transitional period, after which the current federal republic was founded. The federal government of Ethiopia has now adopted the Agricultural Development-Led Industrialization (ADLI) strategy, as the majority of the nation is still dependent on agriculture. Yet this strategy recognizes the interdependence of rural and urban activities and it also gives special attention to the housing sector. In relation to this the strategy encourages the formulation of adequate policies, the expansion of social and economic infrastructures, the full involvement of the private sector for accelerated urban development.

Today Ethiopia as per the constitution is divided into 9 ethnic and culture based states each with its own capital city. The regional states are further subdivided into Zones, which are again subdivided into Weredas again each with its capital city. The new policy of decentralization of economic activities towards the new regional systems has given importance to higher level intermediate centers while it also requires the urban councils to be self sufficient in financing their operations.

MAP – 4 REGIONAL COVERAGE OF CAPITALS IN 1994



The step by step process of decentralization of powers from national to local levels both politically and fiscally included the upgrading of levels of responsibility for each of these municipal authorities of second and lower order Zonal and Wereda centers. Administrative centers still for the majority depend on the central government as in the previous period, for their revenue and socio-economic development (see annex-4). The main criteria for capital mobilization were selected to reflect efficiency, equitable distribution of benefits and reduction of inter-regional disparities. The breakdown of the capital budgets reveals that the resource allocations follow the different needs. Resource rich areas seem to give emphasis to resource

base, while backward areas appear to focus on social development (Tegegn Gebre Egziaber, 1999).

As regards the housing sector, the development programs include also the municipal involvement in the allocation of plots, the construction of low-cost houses, and the construction of infrastructure and services. Furthermore the government still retains ownership of all urban land but guarantees the right to ownership, rent, and transfer of homes. Besides, previously nationalized houses are being sold out while the private sector involvement is welcome and cooperative housing production a method introduced by the previous regime, is still widely encouraged whereas shelter finance is no longer subsidized. The Construction and Business Bank new terms of loan expect the borrower to pay back at least ¼ of his/ her monthly income up to a maximum of 30 years duration of loan but before 55 years of age and covers only up to 80% of housing value.

On the other hand the urban land lease policy (proclamation n. 80/ 1993) where each locality has its own legislation together with the rental income tax (proclamation n. 62/ 1993) and the capital gain tax (proclamation n. 108/ 1994) are meant to generate further revenues for municipalities' undertakings. (Fanos Habte Wold, 1994; Diamantini, 1996; Britannica CD, 1997; Eyob Dolicho, 1998).

Yet there is no as such a national housing policy while the need for development guidelines in the sector has been recognized and attempts to formulate are currently underway. The PADCO (1998) study in housing stands out as part of this process for the elaboration of sectoral

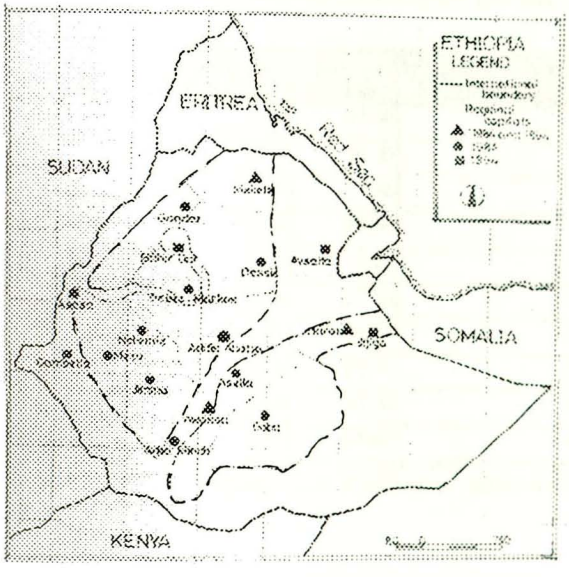
strategies undertaken by the government in light of the recent adjustments. The report has a precedent undertaken 30 years ago by IGE (1967) for the same purposes and with the same outcomes. The irony is that the first was done in time where the private sector has failed and the second because the public sector has failed yet both agree that housing should be left to the market but that the government should facilitate and play an enabling role. (IGE, 1967; PADCO, 1998). Both analyze existing housing situation in regional centers and forecast housing needs for following decades to finally make some policy recommendations. Both studies have the weakness of generalizing from samples of few urban centers to national level proposals. The IGE study was made in times where there were shortages of compiled data and census, and warns about the dangers of pursuing 'analytical refinements to extreme lengths' on a national scale and on the need of detailed research (IGE, 1967). But decades later, the PADCO research had the advantage of recent surveys and detail up to date census results (PADCO, 1998). This study primarily builds on the above-mentioned works and will attempt to develop around these. To these contributions the present study hopes to add a fresh angle of analysis taking into consideration the status change.

3. PROFILE OF THE REGIONAL CAPITALS

This chapter describes the profile of the regional capitals to provide the essential background against which to view the housing availability and quality. In addition to physical location the chapter also covers the historical backgrounds, the land use patterns and population characteristics of the regional centers under study.

3.1 Physical Location

MAP -- 5 PHYSICAL SET-UP OF REGIONAL CAPITALS



3.1.1 Demoted Centers

Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba, Jimma and Nekemte are within a road distance of 500km from Addis Ababa, the federal capital city while Metu and Gondar are at

600km and 700km away from Addis Ababa. Table 3-1a below presents the details of the physical indicators. Arba Minch is located on the western banks of the Lakes Abaya and Chamo, on the Addis-Gidole route through Sodo while Asella lies at the foot of Mount Chilalo on the Addis-Ginir route through Goba. Jimma, Metu, and Nekemte all serve as transport nodes between Addis and southern and western towns such as Mizan Teferi, Gimbi, Gambella, Asosa, Gore, and Bedele. Debre Markos is another transport node to the northern towns like Bahir Dar, Gondar, and Axum. Gondar is along this Addis-Axum route while Dessie situated at Bati hills, is the northern transport node on the international Addis-Asmera road.

Table 3-1a: Physical location indicators for the Demoted Centers

N°	Urban Centers	Latitude North in °'	Longitude South in °'	Distance from Addis Ababa in km	Altitude m.a.s.l.	Climate in mean annual temperature in °C
1	Arba Minch	6.02	37.36	489	1290	24.0
2	Asella	7.57	39.08	175	2350	20.7
3	Debre Markos	10.19	37.40	299	2515	16.0
4	Dessie	11.06	39.39	401	2500	16.0
5	Goba	7.00	40.00	455	2700	22.0
6	Gondar	12.36	37.30	738	1967	16.0
7	Jimma	7.53	36.37	346	1725	19.5
8	Metu	8.18	35.37	600	1940	22.0
9	Nekemte	9.04	36.30	327	2101	18.0
	Average	**8.77**	**37.62**	**426**	**2121**	**19.4**

Source: EMA, 1988. National Atlas of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

Arba Minch stands at an altitude of less than 1500m while Gondar, Jimma, and Metu are in between 1500m-2000m and Asella Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba and Nekemte are at over 2000m elevation. Arba Minch is enclosed in between the Western and Eastern Highlands in the Lake District, which is the most elevated part of the Rift Valley and is in the Lake Basin drainage system with prevailing southwesterly winds. Its climatic zone is in the relatively Weina

Dega climatic zone of the Rift Valley. Asella and Goba are located in the Eastern Highlands to the east of the Rift Valley and are in the Eastern drainage system: the Wabi Shebelle River Basin and the Genale River Basin. Both experience all the 3 Ethiopian climatic zones the Dega, Weina Dega, and Kolla with the prevailing northeasterly winds. The major construction materials available at hand in these towns same as in Arba Minch are sand, gravel, granite sandstone, limestone, and gneiss composites of alluvial soils. Comparatively, Debre Markos, Dessie Gondar, Jimma, Metu and Nekemte are all located in the Western Highlands and are all found in the Western Drainage System: the Abay, the Ghibe, and the Awash River Basins with the prevailing southwesterly winds. The major construction materials found in these centers are clay and loam, trachyte, and pumice, which are derives of basalt volcanic rock. Jimma, Metu and Nekemte are situated on the South Western plateaus of these Highlands, the wettest part of the country in the Dega temperate climatic zone, which also has a large reserve of Tropical Rain Forest. In contrast, Debre Markos, Dessie and Gondar are situated on the Northern-Western Highlands and are in the Weina Dega subtropical moderately warm humid zone.

3.1.2 Existing Centers

Awassa is located on the international Addis-Nairobi road at less than 500km from Addis Ababa and is bounded by Lake Awassa. Table 3-1b below lists the details of the physical indicators. Mekelle at over 700km from Addis Ababa is situated at the foot of the Endayesus Mountain chains, and is 10km away from the international Addis-Asmera road. Harar is located in between 500km-700km at the slopes of Hakim Mountain chains on the Addis-Jijiga-Deghabur route.

Table 3-1b: Physical location indicators for the Existing Centers

N°	Urban Centers	Latitude North in °'	Longitude South in °'	Distance from Addis Ababa in km	Altitude m.a.s.l.	Climate in mean annual temperature in °C
1	Awassa	7.04	38.31	273	1750	25.0
2	Harar	9.2	42.1	526	2100	19.5
3	Mekelle	13.32	39.33	783	2070	16.0
	Average	9.85	39.91	527	1973	20.2

Source:EMA, 1988. National Atlas of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

Awassa is in between 1500m-2000m above sea level while Harar and Mekelle are at over 2000m elevation. Awassa is located in the Lake District with the relatively Weina Dega climatic zone of the Rift Valley and within the Rift Valley drainage system facing the prevailing southwesterly winds. Its major construction materials are sand, gravel, granite sandstone, limestone, and gneiss composits of alluvial soils. Harar is located in the Eastern Highlands to the east of the Rift Valley surrounded by vast coffee and chat farms. It is in the Eastern Drainage System: the Wabi Shebelle River Basin and the Awash River Basin facing the prevailing northeasterly wind. Mekelle on the other side is located in the Western Highlands and is drained through the Tekeze and Merheb River Basins in the Western Drainage System with the prevailing southwesterly winds. Both Harar and Mekelle are in the Weina Dega subtropical moderately warm humid zone and have major construction materials of greater diversity from clay, loam, and basalt rock to sand, gravel, granite, and marble, which are derives of the old crystalline rock.

3.1.3 Promoted Centers

Asosa, Aysaita, Bahir Dar, and Jijiga are found in between 500km-700km distances from Addis Ababa while Gambella is at over 700km from Addis Ababa. The detailed physical indicators are

presented in table 3-1c below. Asosa is located on the Addis-Kurmuk route only 32km away from the Sudanese border. Gambella is also not far from this border on the Baro River, the only navigable river in the country and a water route to Khartoum, the Sudanese capital. Aysaita also a border town on the other side of the country and the biggest center of its region, is crossed by the international road Addis-Asseb at about 30km from the Djibouti border. Bahir Dar is located at the southern tip of the Lake Tana the largest lake of the country, crossed northwest to southeast by the biggest river in Africa: Abay at it source with its impressive gorges and waterfall. Jijiga is located at the foot of Karamara Mountain chains on the Addis-Harar - Deghabur route.

Table 3-1c: Physical location indicators for the Promoted Centers

N°	Urban Centers	Latitude North in °'	Longitude South in °'	Distance from Addis Ababa in km	Altitude m.a.s.l.	Climate in mean annual temperature in °C
1	Asosa	10.03	34.3	673	1600	22.0
2	Aysaita	11.35	41.23	649	430	28.7
3	Bahir Dar	11.38	37.1	563	1770	18.0
4	Gambella	8.15	34.35	775	533	28.0
5	Jijiga	9.23	42.5	628	1775	22.0
	Average	10.03	37.90	658	1222	23.7

Source:EMA, 1988. National Atlas of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

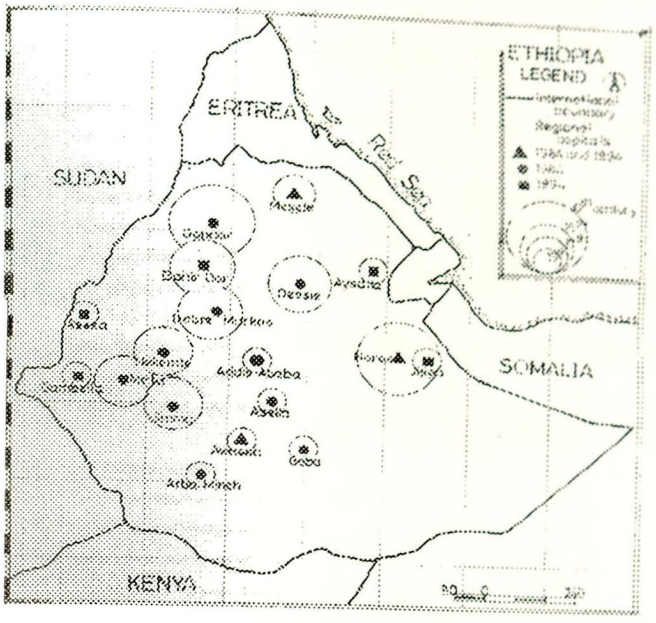
Aysaita and Gambella are at elevations of less than 500m while Asosa, Bahir Dar, and Jijiga are in between 1500m-2000m altitudes. Aysaita is enclosed in between the Western and Eastern Highlands in the Denakil plains and is in the Rift Valley drainage system, specifically the Affar Basin with the Bereha climatic zone of the Kolla tropical climate and with no prevailing winds. It is composed of the desert soils sedimentary and volcanic saline derives. Jijiga is located in the Eastern Highlands to the east of the Rift Valley and is in the Eastern drainage system,

specifically the Wabi Shebelle River Basin with the prevailing northeasterly wind and surrounded by vast coffee and chat farms. Its major construction materials are clay, loam, basalt rock, sand, gravel, granite, and marble, which are derives of the old crystalline rock. Asosa and Bahir Dar in the Western Highlands, in the South and in the North respectively while Gambella is located on the Baro-Akobo Plains in a transition region between the Ethiopian Western plateaus and the plains of Sudan. The center is found in the Baro Drainage Basin, which is in the Western Drainage System same as Asosa and Bahir Dar, which are drained by the Abay River and all 3 face the prevailing southwesterly winds. Asosa, Gambella, and Jijiga are in the Kolla semi-arid and warm tropical climatic zone, while Bahir Dar is in the Weina Dega subtropical moderately warm humid zone. Asosa has a soil texture of black clay, which derives from basalt volcanic rock and its major construction materials are clay and loam, trachyte, pumice, and basalt rock. The major construction materials in Bahir Dar and Gambella are sand, gravel, granite sandstone, limestone, and gneiss composites of alluvial soils.

3.2 Historical Background

> "Most of the historic urban places of Ethiopia emerged as political and military centers while some enjoyed the additional advantage of functioning as service centers at the cross roads of major trade routes." (Solomon Mulugeta, 1996, p.190).

MAP – 6 AGE OF SETTLEMENT OF REGIONAL CAPITALS



3.2.1 Demoted Centers

As long standing centers Debre Markos, Gondar, Dessie, Jimma, and Nekemte, were formed on strategic defensible sites, or round important worship centers and were once capitals of ancient Kingdoms, however their non-permanent nature led to their subsequent decline until the late 19th century where their development was accelerated. During Menelik's territorial expansion Jimma an important commercial capital, was taken over and given semi-autonomous status. In the 1920s and 1930s Gondar and Nekemte obtained administrative importance and attempted some form of service and infrastructure development. The period also saw the development of southern towns such as Arba Minch, Asella, Goba, and Metu, which functioned previously as pasturelands, or weekly markets, or ceremonial gathering places. (EMA, 1988; NUPI; UDSS).

The 1936-41 Italian invasion brought about no major changes for Arba Minch, Asella, and Metu, whereas development plans were prepared for Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba and Nekemte. Meanwhile as regional capitals of the Italian regional division Gondar and Jimma got regulating master plans. The latter as part of the grand exploitation and control scheme over Ethiopia's interiors were reshaped into military bases, and got extensive modern urban services and infrastructure. The 1960s saw the development of the first master plans for Arba Minch, Asella, and Metu, as part of the '40 master plans' prepared in1967. The 1967 plans were also influential for Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba, Gondar, Jimma, and Nekemte. (Mondadori, 1941; EMA, 1988; NUPI; UDSS).

Latter in the 1980s, as parts of the Derg development programs Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba, Gondar, Jimma, Metu, and Nekemte attained regional capital status of Gamo Goffa, Arsi, Gojjam, Wello, Bale, Gondar, Keffa, Illubabor, and Wellega regions respectively (see Map 2 and Annex 1). It was during this period that the first Detail Parcellation Plans were prepared for the centers. Yet, after the 1991 change of government, the regional capitals were restructured as per the new urban hierarchical system and 'lost' their previous control and coverage. Currently Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba, Jimma, Metu, and Nekemte are the capitals of the Semen Omo, Arsi, Misrak Gojjam, Debub Wello, Bale, Semen Gondar, Jimma, Illubabor, and Misrak Wellega zones (see Map 3 and Annex 1). Arba Minch is part of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's regional state while Asella, Goba, Jimma, Metu and Nekemte are part of the Oromia state, and Debre Markos, Dessie and Gondar are part of the Amhara state. Nevertheless, according to the new importance of intermediate cities as development centers the municipalities gained some independence and

development plans for Arba Minch, Debre Markos, Gondar, Jimma, and Nekemte have been completed and are being implemented. On the other hand, Asella, Dessie, Goba and Metu are projects waiting to be undertaken. (EMA, 1988; NUPI; UDSS).

3.2.2 Existing Centers

Harar and Mekelle are long standing centers, which were formed on strategic defensible sites and round important worship centers. Harar's Jegol (the-walled-city) built in early medieval period, known for its narrow and winding streets, dense settlement, and its 5 gates, contributed in shaping the character of the town. More over Harar and Mekelle were once capitals of ancient Kingdoms, yet their non-permanent nature led to their subsequent decline before regaining importance in the 20th century. The 1936-41 Italian occupation of Harar as a colonial capital, was followed with the preparation of a regulating master plan and extensive settlement outside the Jegol walls. Similarly Mekelle got a development plan along with the further strengthening of its infrastructure development and of its military settlement. (Mondadori, 1941; EMA, 1988; NUPI; UDSS). Awassa gained importance as a regional center when Emperor Haile Selassie led the foundation of the new town as part of the plan for general economic development, with the construction of new roads, commercial farms and factories. The new 'Awassa Town Project and Agricultural Concession' was planned in 1958 and implemented through to 1961. Meanwhile the 1967 Harar's master plan influenced its current structure. Awassa, Harar, and Mekelle were part of the regional administrative capitals installed during the Derg period (1974-91) as capitals of Sidamo, Hararghe, and Tigray regions respectively (see Map 2 and Annex 1). The 1980s Detail Plans as part of the Derg development programs included Harar whereas Awassa manifested a dramatic growth evolving into a strong urban

center as a result of the construction of major link-roads and the development of commercial agriculture in its peripheries. After 1991 Awassa, Harar, and Mekelle were restructured as per the new urban hierarchical system and gained additional power as regional capitals of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's regional state, the Harari, and Tigray states respectively (see Map 3 and Annex 1). According to the new importance of intermediate cities the development plans of Awassa, Harar and Mekelle have been completed and are being implemented. (EMA, 1988; NUPI; UDSS).

3.2.3 Promoted Centers

Bahir Dar was formed round important churches before gaining administrative importance in the 20th century while Asosa was established at the turn of the 20th century although some tribal nomads were formerly located around the sites. Asosa gained importance as part of the centers formed in the outskirts of the country, which were set up for transit purposes and frontier control. Another similar town Jijiga a supply point for surrounding nomads was reshaped during Menelik's territorial expansion as a fortress to control the Ogaden lowlands. Likewise Gambella attained notoriety when the then Ethio-Sudanese common trade station was first established in this site for security and convenience reasons. The town evolved as a major link of trade activities in western Ethiopia with the majority of its first settlers being expatriates. Aysaita, which was previously the capital of one of the Affar sultanates, grew also as mainly a market exchange center for pastoral nomads and got Emperor Haile Selassie's attention as a potential area for commercial agriculture. (EMA, 1988; NUPI, 1995d; UDSS, 1996a). The 1936-41 Italian invasion brought about no major change for Aysaita, whereas development plans were prepared for Asosa, Bahir Dar, Gambella, and Jijiga, which were strengthened as military bases,

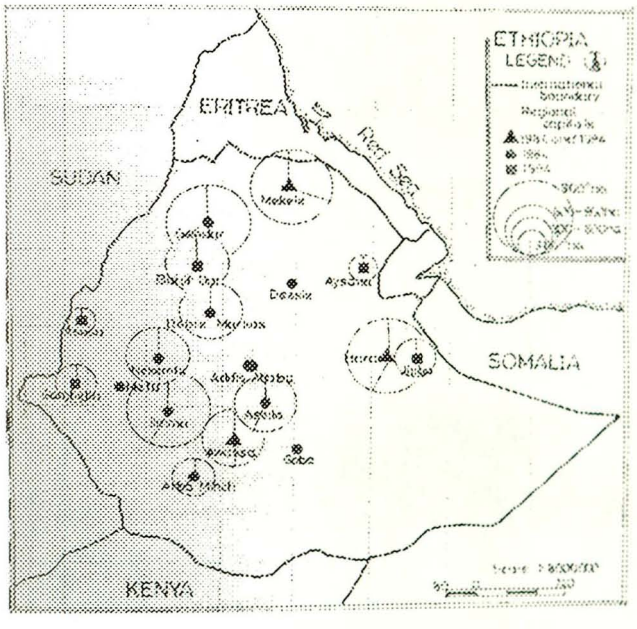
along with their infrastructure development. (Mondadori, 1941; EMA, 1988; NUPI, UDSS). On the other hand in the 1960s Aysaita saw its first master plan as part of the 1967 40 towns' master plans while for the others the plan was influential. Furthermore the selection as landing grounds in the Ethiopian AirLines system enhanced the importance of Asosa, Aysaita, Gambella, and Jijiga, which became more accessible despite their location in more remote parts of the country.

During the 1974-91 period Asosa, Aysaita, Bahir Dar, Gambella, and Jijiga, though important intermediate cities, were lower order capitals of the Asosa, Awssa, Bahir Dar, Gambella, and Jijiga Awrajas respectively (see Map 2 and Annex 1). Asosa was part of the then Wellega region, Aysaita was part of Wello, Bahir Dar of Gojjam, Gambella of Illubabor, and Jijiga of Hararghe regions. The 1980s Detail Plans as part of the Derg development programs included these centers, which evolved into strong urban centers as a result of the construction of major link-roads and or the development of commercial agriculture in their peripheries. Following the 1990s changes the centers such as Asosa, Aysaita, Bahir Dar, Gambella, and Jijiga all gained importance in the urban restructuring process as regional capitals of the Benishangul-Gumuz, Affar, Amhara, Gambella, and Somale regional states (see Map 3 and Annex 1). In particular Asosa, Aysaita, and Gambella grew at an accelerated rate with the development of the infrastructure, the resettlement programs of 1979-85, the nearby location of commercial agriculture, added to the recent rise to regional capital status. Following the new importance they gained the development plans of these centers have been completed and are being implemented. (EMA, 1988; NUPI; UDSS).

3.3 Land Use Pattern

The structure and spatial development of an urban center, which is the ultimate expression of topographic and socio-economic conditions, is best described through the study of the land use patterns. Topography moderates the distribution, size, and arrangement of the economic activities in urban centers, which in turn further determine the character and shape of the town (EMA, 1988; Field, 1993; Tesfaye Derbe, 1997).

MAP – 7,RESIDENTIAL LAND AS SHARE OF BUILT-UP AREA OF REGIONAL CAPITALS



3.3.1 Demoted Centers

As relatively linear elongated towns, Asella, Gondar, Metu, and Nekemte are spread on narrow ridges while Arba Minch is stretched beside water bodies. As towns of relatively compact circular shapes, Debre Markos, Dessie, and Goba, are bounded within mountain chains; while Jimma is spread evenly over plains. The land coverage as per the available data of the total municipal boundary of Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, and Jimma, is in the range 1000ha-2000ha, and that of Gondar, and Nekemte are above 3000ha. The details of the land use coverage are listed in table 3.2a below. Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, and Jimma have built-up areas covering more than half of their municipal coverage while Gondar and Nekemte stretched over rugged terrain have built-up areas covering only about 1/5 of this space. The residential shares of Arba Minch, Asella, Gondar and Jimma constitute about a third of their respective built-up areas while the shares of Debre Markos and Nekemte constitute around half of their respective built-up areas.

Table 3-2a: Land Use Coverage in the Demoted Centers

N	Urban center	Municipal boundary gross coverage in ha	Built up area		Residential area		
			In ha	% of total	In ha	% of built-up	% of total
1	Arba Minch	1095	590	53.90%	211	35.8%	19.3%
2	Asella	1245	740	59.40%	258	34.9%	20.7%
3	Debre Markos	1157	754	65.20%	439	58.2%	37.9%
4	Dessie	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
5	Goba	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
6	Gondar	5560	1003	18.00%	370	36.9%	6.7%
7	Jimma	2048	1174	57.30%	410	34.9%	20.0%
8	Metu	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
9	Nekemte	3192	610	19.10%	324	53.1%	10.2%
	Average	**2383**	**812**	**45.5%**	**335**	**42.3%**	**19.1%**

*N.A.: Not Available
Source: NUPI, the Master Plans and the Development Plans Executive Summaries, Addis Ababa

In general the Demoted Centers show a relatively planned central area while the outskirts are unplanned. The residential areas are dispersed all over the urban space without following any specific zoning and in many cases mixed with other urban activities notably small-scale commercial activities. The unplanned areas are largely composed of *Gojo-Bets* or straw and mud houses and are without basic utilities and facilities. Most of the housing units in the long-stand centers are old constructions, which give some of the towns a deteriorating character.

3.3.2 Existing Centers

The land coverage as per the available data of the total municipal boundary of Awassa, Harar, and Mekelle, is in the range 1000ha-2000ha of areal size. The details of the land use coverage are listed in table 3.2b below. As a relatively linear elongated town, Harar is spread on narrow ridges while as towns of relatively compact circular shapes, Awassa is enclosed within lakes and rivers; and Mekelle is bounded within mountain chains. Awassa has built-up areas that cover around 1/3 of its municipal size while Harar and Mekelle have built-up areas that cover over half of the respective municipal sizes. The residential share for Awassa and Harar constitute about 1/3 of the respective built-up areas whereas the residential share of Mekelle is about half of the built-up area.

Table 3-2b: Land use coverage in the Existing Centers

N	Urban center	Municipal boundary gross coverage in ha	Built up area		Residential area		
			In ha	% of total	In ha	% of built-up	% of total
1	Awassa	1950	613	31.40%	298	48.60%	15.30%
2	Harar	1755	1154	65.80%	452	39.20%	25.80%
3	Mekelle	1300	959	73.80%	689	71.80%	53.00%
	Average	1668	909	57.0%	480	53.2%	31.4%

Source: NUPI, the Master Plans and the Development Plans Executive Summaries, Addis Ababa.

In general the residential areas of the Existing Centers are mixed with commercial and other activities particularly in the centers of the towns and along important roads, while the peripheries are mainly residential.

3.3.3 Promoted Centers

As relatively linear elongated towns, Asosa, and Aysaita are shaped alongside highways, whereas Gambella is stretched beside water bodies. As towns of relatively compact circular shapes, Bahir Dar is enclosed within the Lake Tana and Abay River; while Jijiga is spread evenly over plains. The land coverage of the total municipal boundary of Asosa, Aysaita, Gambella, and Jijiga is below 1000ha. Meanwhile Bahir Dar is a fast growing industrial town, which has developed a comparatively large size within the range of 1000ha-2000ha. The details of the land use coverage are listed in table 3.2c below. Asosa, Bahir Dar Gambella, and Jijiga have built-up areas that cover over half of their respective total municipal areas while the built-up area of Aysaita is only 1/4 of its municipality. The residential shares of Asosa and Jijiga stand at over half of the built-up area while that of Aysaita, Bahir Dar, and Gambella is less than half of the built-up area. The military camps, which occupy large space in the center of Asosa and Jijiga mostly define the settlement character of the towns.

Table 3-2c: Land Use Coverage in the Promoted Centers

N	Urban center	Municipal boundary gross coverage in ha	Built up area		Residential area		
			In ha	% of total	In ha	% of built-up	% of total
1	Asosa	352	234	66.50%	134	57.30%	38.10%
2	Aysaita	472	120	25.40%	48	40.00%	10.20%
3	Bahir Dar	1345	840	62.50%	353	42.00%	26.20%
4	Gambella	578	356	61.60%	144	40.40%	24.90%
5	Jijiga	850	531	62.50%	328	61.80%	38.60%
	Average	719	416	55.7%	201	48.3%	27.6%

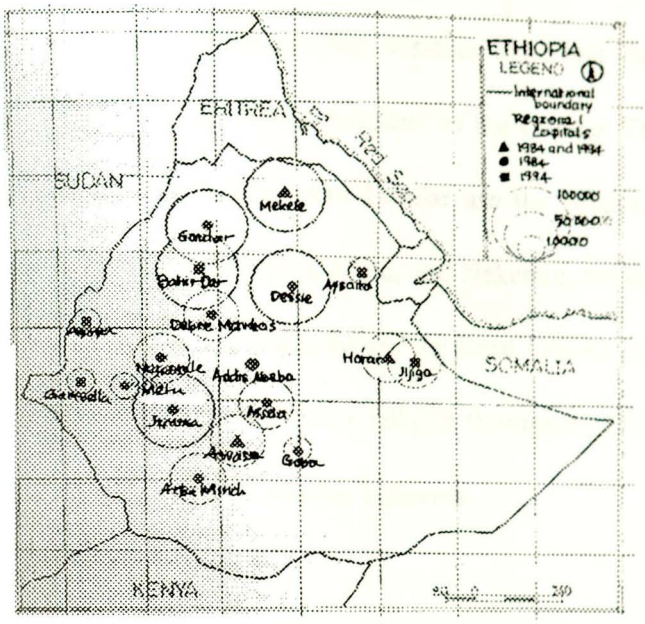
Source: NUPI, the Master Plans and the Development Plans Executive Summaries, Addis Ababa.

In general the Promoted Centers are composed of two categories of residence: one is well planned with relatively better provision of services, while another is the unplanned mostly illegal settlement. Though the general land use of the centers is mixed, residential areas dominate the scenery mostly composed of *Gojo-Bets* or straw and mud houses especially in squatter settlements where the streets are narrow and organic.

3.4 Population Characteristics

The population characteristics as indicators of the development level of the urban centers are described in the following section through components such as the sex, age, ethnic, and religious composition; the literacy and activity status, the household size and expenditure pattern.

MAP – 8 POPULATION SIZE OF REGIONAL CAPITALS



3.4.1 Demoted Centers

Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, Goba, Metu and Nekemte are in the interval of 15-50thousand population size category while Dessie and Jimma are in the interval 50-100thousand, and Gondar is in the interval 100-150thousand category (see Map 4). As regards the total household number Arba Minch, Goba and Nekemte are in the interval 3-10thousand households while Asella, Debre Markos and Jimma are in the 10-20thousand interval. On the other hand, Gondar and Dessie have over 20thousand household number. The sex composition for Demoted Centers, (hereon referred to as DC), shows that the female populations have a slightly larger share than the males. Yet taking the centers individually Arba Minch and Metu have a slightly larger male population while Gondar has the highest share of female population.

The break down of the population into broad age groups shows that for DC a large population is below 15 years old. The age group 15-59 years accounts for an average of over half of the total population, which support a rather important dependent population. The major ethnic groups in DC are the Amara followed by the Gurage. Taken individually, the major local people in Debre Markos, Dessie, and Gondar are the Amara while in Arba Minch, the local Gamo people dominate. For Jimma, Metu, and Nekemte, the local Oromo people have the majorities in contrast to Asella and Goba where the local Oromo people held 2nd place. The major religion practiced in DC is the Orthodox religion throughout DC without exception, however Dessie has an important number of Muslim believers.

On the other hand Asella has the highest share of percent literate while Arba Minch has the highest growth rate of literate population. Goba has the highest share of primary education as the highest level completed and Arba Minch has the fastest growth rate while Debre Markos, Goba and Gondar have declining rates for this category. Meanwhile Arba Minch has the highest activity rate while also having the fastest growth rate in its active population. Asella presents the highest unemployment rate and Debre Markos has the highest share of the unemployed without work experience whereas Nekemte has the fastest growth rates in both the general unemployed population and in those without work experience (see Annex 2).

The population growth rate in DC for the intercensal period (1984-94) averaged 4.0% while the new household formation average 3.9% annual change. Table 3-3a presents the details of the population size. Gondar has the highest addition in total persons and Jimma has the highest addition in new household while Arba Minch has the fastest rates in both the total persons and

the household formation. The household size is largest in Nekemte while the increase in household size is highest in Debre Markos. On the other hand Arba Minch, Asella, and Goba show a decline in their respective average household size over the intercensal period.

Table 3-3a: Population Size of the Demoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Total persons				Density inhabitants/ ha	Residential area in ha	Total household				persons per household		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth			1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Change
1	Arba Minch	19398	40020	20622	7.5%	190	211	4311	9208	4897	7.9%	4.50	4.35	-3.4%
2	Asella	36720	47391	10671	2.6%	184	258	7236	10605	3369	3.9%	5.07	4.47	-11.9%
3	Debre Markos	38849	49297	10448	2.4%	112	439	8799	10307	1508	1.6%	4.42	4.78	8.3%
4	Dessie	69722	97314	27592	3.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	15458	20627	5169	2.9%	4.51	4.72	4.6%
5	Goba	23054	28358	5304	2.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	5282	6706	1424	2.4%	4.36	4.23	-3.1%
6	Gondar	78100	112249	34149	3.7%	303	370	16979	22928	5949	3.0%	4.60	4.90	6.4%
7	Jimma	58324	88867	30543	4.3%	217	410	12886	19135	6249	4.0%	4.53	4.64	2.6%
8	Metu	12316	19298	6982	4.6%	*N.A.	*N.A.	2892	4362	1470	4.2%	4.26	4.42	3.9%
9	Nekemte	27564	47258	19694	5.5%	146	324	5513	9306	3793	5.4%	5.00	5.08	1.6%
	Total/ Average	**364047**	**530052**	**166005**	**4.0%**	**192**	**2012**	79356	113184	33828	3.9%	4.58	4.62	0.01

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

DC has on average less than half of its residents as migrants whereas individually Arba Minch, Asella, and Metu have a majority of migrant residents. Furthermore the majority of migrants in Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, Dessie, Gondar, and Jimma are from rural areas while Goba, Metu and Nekemte have a majority of migrants from urban areas. Looking at the length of residence migrants that came to DC within the intercensal period were fewer when compared to migrants that came to DC within the first years of the Derg period.

3.4.2 Existing Centers

Awassa, Harar, and Mekelle are all in the population size interval of 50-100thousand category. As regards the total household number Awassa and Harar are in the 10-20thousand interval while Mekelle is in the over 20thousand household category. The sex composition of the population in Existing Centers (hereon referred to as EC) shows that the male and female portions are nearly equal with a slightly larger female population. Yet taking the centers individually Awassa has a slightly larger male population while Mekelle has the highest share of female population. The break down of the population into broad age groups shows that for EC there is a large population below 15 years old. The age group 15-59 years accounts for over half of the total population, which have an important dependent population. The breakdown of the ethnic group of EC revealed that the Amara dominate followed by the Welaita, however for Mekelle the majority of the town's population were the local Tigre people. Considered individually, the local people in Awassa the Welaita are in 2nd place while the local people in Harar the Adere are in 3rd place. The major religion practiced in EC is the Orthodox religion however Harar has an important number of Muslim believers.

As regards the literacy status Awassa has the highest share of percent literate while also having the fastest growth rate of literate population. Mekelle has the highest share and the fastest growth rate of primary education as the highest level completed while Harar presents a declining rate. On the other hand Harar has the highest activity rate while Awassa has the fastest growth rate in its active population. Harar presents the highest unemployment rate also whereas Awassa has the fastest growth rate in its unemployed population and the highest share of unemployed

without work experience. In contrast Harar has the fastest growth rate in the unemployed population without work experience (see Annex 2).

The population growth rate in EC for the intercensal period (1984-94) averaged 4.9% while the new household formation averaged 5.2% annual change. Table 3-3b presents the population size. Mekelle has the highest addition in total persons and also the highest addition in new household while Awassa has the fastest rates in both the total persons and the household formation. The average household size is highest in Awassa while the increase in household size over the intercensal period is highest in Harar. On the other hand Awassa and Mekelle show a decline in their respective average household size over the intercensal period.

Table 3-3b: Population Size of the Existing Centers

N	Urban centers	Total persons				Density inhabitants/ ha	Residential area in ha	Total household				persons per household		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth			1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Change
1	Awassa	33836	69169	35333	7.4%	232	298	6716	14958	8242	8.3%	5.04	4.62	-8.2%
2	Harar	60255	76378	16123	2.4%	169	452	14694	18102	3408	2.1%	4.10	4.22	2.9%
3	Mekelle	59359	96938	37579	5.0%	141	689	13731	22493	8762	5.1%	4.32	4.31	-0.3%
	Total/ Average	153450	242485	89035	4.9%	181	1439	35141	55553	20412	5.2%	4.49	4.38	-1.9%

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

EC averaged about half of its residents as migrants with the majority coming from urban areas. Looking at the length of residence of migrants that came to EC those that came within the intercensal period averaged about the same as the first years of the Derg period.

3.4.3 Promoted Centers

Asosa has less than 15thousand population and Aysaita and Gambella are in the interval of 15-50thousand category while Jijiga and Bahir Dar are in the 50-100thousand category. As regards the total household number Asosa, Aysaita, and Gambella are in the interval of 3-10thousand households while Jijiga is in the 10-20thousand interval and Bahir Dar is in the over 20thousand household category. The sex composition of the population in Promoted Centers (hereon referred to as PC) shows that the male population has a slightly larger share than the female population. Taking the centers individually Bahir Dar has a slightly larger female population while Gambella has the highest share of male population. The break down of the population into broad age groups shows that for PC a large number of the population is below 15 years old. The age group 15-59 years accounts for over half of the total population and an important number of dependent populations. The major ethnic groups of PC are the Amara followed by the Oromo, however taken individually the centers present greater diversity.

The majority of the towns' population in Asosa, Bahir Dar, Gambella and Jijiga were the local Oromo, Amara, Anyiwak and Somale people respectively while the local people in Aysaita the Affar held 2nd place. The major religion practiced in PC is the Orthodox religion however Aysaita and Jijiga are said to have a majority of Muslims. Asosa has the highest share of percent literate while Gambella has the highest share of people with primary education as the highest grade completed. Asosa has again the highest activity rate but also the highest share of the unemployed without work experience (see Annex 2).

The population growth rate in PC for the intercensal period (1984-94) averaged 10.2% while the new household formation averaged 9.1% annual change. Table 3-3c presents the population size. Bahir Dar has the highest addition in total persons and also the highest addition in new household while Gambella has the fastest rates in both the total persons and the household formation. The household size is highest in Jijiga while the increase in household size over the intercensal period is highest in Aysaita. On the other hand Asosa and Bahir Dar show a decline in their respective household size over the intercensal period.

Table 3-3c: Population Size of the Promoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Total persons				Density inhabitants/ ha	Residential area in ha	Total household				persons per household		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth			1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Change
1	Asosa	4049	11749	7700	11.2%	88	134	964	2825	1861	11.4%	4.20	4.16	-1.0%
2	Aysaita	6495	14392	7897	8.3%	300	48	2061	3223	1162	4.6%	3.15	4.47	41.7%
3	Bahir dar	50980	96140	45160	6.5%	272	353	10291	20857	10566	7.3%	4.95	4.61	-7.0%
4	Gambella	4267	18263	13996	15.6%	127	144	1067	4356	3289	15.1%	4.00	4.19	4.8%
5	Jijiga	24547	58360	33813	9.0%	178	328	6462	12462	6000	6.8%	3.80	4.68	23.3%
	Total/ Average	90338	198904	108566	10.2%	193	1007	20845	43723	22878	9.1%	4.02	4.42	12.4%

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

Bahir Dar has a majority of its population as migrant residents of which over half came in the 1990s as compared to the slightly higher figure of the 1980s. The majority of these migrants are from rural areas.

To sum up, each event whether physical or historical or demographic contributed to the foundation of the towns in consideration and to the achievement of their current development state. Despite the repeated government changes and instability, their resultant administrative

reforms and government restructuring helped to further consolidate the urban centers selected as administrative centers though some grew faster than others did. The relatively southern recent centers, such as Arba Minch, Asella, Awassa, Gambella, Jijiga are fast growing as opposed to once prosperous centers like Jimma, Nekemte, Debre Markos, Gondar, and Harar, which gradually declined in importance. (Fanos Habte Wold, 1994; Diamantini, 1996; EMA, 1988; NUPI; 1998c; UDSS).

4. HOUSING AVAILABILITY IN REGIONAL CAPITALS

This section based on the background given in the previous chapters deals with the description of the housing availability and the pace of its performance in the regional centers under consideration over the intercensal period (1984-94). Housing availability is expressed through components such as the size of the housing stock, the type of building and structure, the occupancy rate and the tenure status, which are investigated in detail in this study. The components are discussed through indicators such as number of housing units, number of rooms per housing unit, number of households per housing unit, and amount of rent per housing unit. The current pattern is presented through the spatial study of the performance of the housing availability while the recent trend is examined from the temporal study of the pace of the housing availability in light of the status change.

4.1 Housing stock

4.1.1 Demoted Centers

According to the 1994 census, the number of the housing stock in Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, Metu and Nekemte is less than 10thousand while Dessie and Jimma are in the 10-20thousand category and Gondar has over 20thousand housing units. As regards the total number of rooms the available data shows that Arba Minch and Goba are in the 10-20thoudand category while Debre Markos is in the 20-30thousand category and Gondar and Dessie have over 30thousand total number of rooms. The details of the housing distribution are presented in table 4-1a below. The housing unit size as expressed by the average number of rooms per

housing unit is less than 2rooms for Arba Minch and Gondar while it is in the 2- 3room range for the rest of the DC.

Table 4-1a: Housing stock of Demoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Total housing unit				Total number of rooms				Rooms per housing	
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994
1	Arba Minch	4139	8776	4637	7.8%	8372	16893	8521	7.3%	2.02	1.92
2	Asella	6700	9955	3255	4.0%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A
3	Debre Markos	8368	9617	1249	1.4%	22044	24874	2830	1.2%	2.63	2.59
4	Dessie	13394	17426	4032	2.7%	32233	38725	6492	1.9%	2.41	2.22
5	Goba	4799	6320	1521	2.8%	11867	14852	2985	2.3%	2.47	2.35
6	Gondar	15496	21694	6198	3.4%	28010	39006	10996	3.4%	1.81	1.80
7	Jimma	11329	17078	5749	4.2%	26942	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	2.38	*N.A
8	Metu	2595	3916	1321	4.2%	6333	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	2.44	*N.A
9	Nekemte	4699	8714	4015	6.4%	13007	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	2.77	*N.A
	Total/ Average	**71519**	**103496**	**31977**	**4.1%**	**148808**	**134350**	**31824**	**3.2%**	**2.37**	**2.18**

*N.A.: Not Available
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

From the table it can be seen that Gondar has the largest addition in housing stock as well as room stock during the intercensal period 1984-94 while Arba Minch has the fastest production rates. Meanwhile the housing unit sizes show a decrease in general in the average number of rooms per housing unit where Dessie has the highest decrease while Gondar maintains the same average number of rooms per housing unit.

4.1.2 Existing Centers

again according to the 1994 census Awassa and Harar have total housing stocks in the 10-20thousand range while Mekelle has over 20thousand housing stock. Table 4-1b below presents the details of the housing stock distribution. As regards the total number of rooms, Harar and

Mekelle have over 30thousand total number of rooms. The housing unit size as expressed by the average number of rooms per housing unit is less than 2rooms for both Harar and Mekelle.

Table 4-1b: Housing stock of Existing Centers

N	Urban centers	Total housing unit				Total number of rooms				Rooms per housing	
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994
1	Awassa	6112	13851	7739	8.5%	15593	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	2.55	*N.A
2	Harar	13979	17445	3466	2.2%	27257	31867	4610	1.6%	1.95	1.83
3	Mekelle	12475	21609	9134	5.6%	21262	32051	10789	4.2%	1.70	1.48
	Total/ Average	**32566**	**52905**	**20339**	**5.5%**	**64112**	**63918**	**15399**	**2.9%**	**2.07**	**1.65**

*N.A.: Not Available
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

During the intercensal period (1984-1994), Mekelle had the largest addition in the housing stock and rooms while Awassa had the fastest housing production rate. Comparatively while there is a general decrease in the average number of rooms, Harar has the highest decrease in average number of rooms per housing unit.

4.1.3 Promoted Centers

As regards PC, Asosa, Aysaita, Gambella, and Jijiga have all less than 10thousand housing stock while Bahir Dar is in the 10-20thousand range. Considering the total number of rooms Asosa and Gambella are in the less than 10thoudand range while Bahir Dar has over 30thousand total rooms.

Table 4-1c: Housing stock of Promoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Total housing unit				Total number of rooms				Rooms per housing	
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994
1	Asosa	945	2622	1677	10.7%	*N.A.	6057	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	2.31
2	Aysaita	1821	3070	1249	5.4%	3249	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	1.78	*N.A.
3	Bahir Dar	9206	19808	10602	8.0%	21250	38897	17647	6.2%	2.31	1.96
4	Gambella	1046	4112	3066	14.7%	*N.A.	5851	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	1.42
5	Jijiga	6172	12218	6046	7.1%	10181	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	1.65	*N.A.
	Total/ Average	**19190**	**41830**	**22640**	**9.2%**	**34680**	**50805**	**17647**	**6.2%**	**1.91**	**1.90**

*N.A.: Not Available
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

Table 4-1c above presents the details of the distribution of the housing stock size. The housing unit size averaged less than 2rooms for Bahir Dar and Gambella and it is in the2- 3room category for Asosa. During the intercensal period Bahir Dar performed the largest addition in the housing stock and rooms, and Gambella had the fastest housing unit production rate while the slowest rate of the category which is in Aysaita, presented a higher pace than both the DC and EC averages. Again here also there is a general decrease in average number of rooms per housing unit.

4.2 Building and Structure

4.2.1 Demoted Centers

Considering the type of building, Arba Minch has the highest share of single storied from total units while Dessie has the highest share of the multistoried units. Out of the single storied, Nekemte has the highest share of the detached housing units while Gondar has the highest share of the attached housing units. Table 4-2a presents the details of the building and structure distributions.

Table 4-2a: Building and structure of Demoted Centers

N	Urban Centers	Single storied units as % of total stock				Permanent units as % of total stock			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Arba minch	98.6%	99.4%	4,641	7.9%	99.7%	96.1%	4310	7.4%
2	Asella	*N.A.	98.8%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	98.2%	*N.A.	*N.A.
3	Debre markos	98.0%	98.0%	1,219	1.4%	99.4%	96.6%	970	1.1%
4	Dessie	91.7%	93.0%	3,925	2.8%	98.2%	96.8%	3724	2.5%
5	Goba	98.5%	99.3%	1,546	2.9%	98.1%	97.5%	1454	2.7%
6	Gondar	95.9%	96.7%	6,119	3.5%	99.0%	94.7%	5198	3.0%
7	Jimma	96.0%	98.4%	5,925	4.4%	97.8%	96.9%	5477	4.1%
8	Metu	93.4%	97.7%	1,402	4.7%	97.5%	96.5%	1249	4.1%
9	Nekemte	96.8%	99.4%	4,112	6.7%	97.3%	94.3%	3641	6.0%
	Total/ Average	96.1%	97.9%	28889	4.3%	98.4%	96.4%	26023	3.9%

*N.A.: Not Available
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

Meanwhile considering the type of structure Asella gets the highest share of the permanent units from the total housing stock. During the intercensal period, there is a general increase in the share of single storied units where Gondar presentes the largest stock of additional single storied and Dessie the highest additional multistoried units. From the additional single storey, Jimma has the largest additional detached units and Gondar the largest additional attached units. Meanwhile Arba Minch has the fastest growth rates for all cases. On the other hand DC in the period saw a general decrease in its permanent structures and increase in its improvised structures. Here, Jimma has the largest addition while Arba Minch has again the fastest rate in permanent units.

4.2.2 Existing Centers

Considering the building type in EC, Awassa has the highest share of single storied units and Harar has the highest share in multistoried units. From the single storied, Awassa has the highest

detached share while Mekelle has the highest share in attached units. As regards the structure type while permanent structures dominate in general Awassa has again the highest share of permanent structures.

Table 4-2b: Building and structure of Existing Centers

N	Urban Centers	Single storied units as % of total stock				Permanent units as % of total stock			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Awassa	94.5%	99.2%	7,968	9.1%	98.3%	95.7%	7247	8.2%
2	Harar	94.8%	94.9%	3,309	2.3%	98.3%	95.2%	2869	1.9%
3	Mekelle	96.3%	97.5%	9,061	5.8%	98.7%	94.4%	8082	5.2%
	Total/ Average	**95.2%**	**97.2%**	**20338**	**5.7%**	**98.4%**	**95.1%**	**18198**	**5.1%**

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

During the considered period the share of single storey increased for EC in general. Mekelle presents the largest shares both in single storied and multistorey while Awassa has the fastest rates for both cases. From the single units addition, Awassa has the largest addition and the fastest rate in detached units while Mekelle has the largest addition and the fastest rate in attached units. The period also saw the increase in improvised units and the decrease in the permanent units for EC in general. Mekelle has the largest addition of permanent units while Awassa has the fastest rate.

4.2.3 Promoted Centers

According to the 1994 census, the major type of building in PC as in the other categories is the single storied where Gambella has the highest share while Bahir Dar has the highest share of multistoried units. Out of the single storied Asosa has the highest share of detached units and Bahir Dar the highest share of attached units. On the other hand as the major type of structure

permanent structure has the highest share in Asosa while Gambella has the highest share of improvised structure.

Table 4-2c: Building and structure of Promoted Centers

N	Urban Centers	Single storied units as % of total stock				Permanent units as % of total stock			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Asosa	*N.A	97.5%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	96.1%	*N.A	*N.A
2	Aysaita	90.3%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	97.7%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A
3	Bahir dar	97.2%	98.8%	10,630	8.1%	98.5%	94.6%	9732	7.6%
4	Gambella	*N.A	95.7%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	88.8%	*N.A	*N.A
5	Jijiga	98.1%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	98.5%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A
	Total/ Average	95.2%	97.3%	10630	8.1%	98.2%	93.2%	9732	7.6%

*N.A.: Not Available
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

During the 1984-94 period Bahir Dar had an increase in its single and multistoried units share whereas its share of permanent units present a decline against an increase in its improvised units.

4.3 Occupancy

4.3.1 Demoted Centers

The occupancy rate expressed through the number of household per housing unit presents an average of 1.09household per unit for DC in general where Dessie has the biggest average together with the highest share in the two households per housing unit category. The major details on occupancy pace and performance are presented in table 4-3a, while Metu has the highest share in the three households per housing unit category.

Table 4-3a: Occupancy ratio in Demoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Addition in housing unit	Addition in household	Change	Production coverage of new formation	Household per housing unit		
						1984	1994	Change
1	Arba Minch	4637	4897	5.6%	94.7%	1.04	1.05	0.7%
2	Asella	3255	3369	3.5%	96.6%	1.08	1.07	-1.4%
3	Debre Markos	1249	1508	20.7%	82.8%	1.05	1.07	1.9%
4	Dessie	4032	5169	28.2%	78.0%	1.15	1.18	2.6%
5	Goba	1521	1424	-6.4%	106.8%	1.10	1.06	-3.6%
6	Gondar	6198	5949	-4.0%	104.2%	1.10	1.06	-3.5%
7	Jimma	5749	6249	8.7%	92.0%	1.14	1.12	-1.5%
8	Metu	1321	1470	11.3%	89.9%	1.11	1.11	-0.1%
9	Nekemte	4015	3793	-5.5%	105.9%	1.17	1.07	-9.0%
	Total/ Average	**31977**	**33828**	**6.9%**	**94.5%**	**1.11**	**1.09**	**-1.5%**

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

As regards the pace of housing production in the intercensal period the performance shows about 94.5% coverage of the new household formation for DC on average (without considering the existing backlog). During the period there was a general decrease in the average number of household per housing unit where Nekemte presents the highest decrease, while Arba Minch, Debre Markos, and Dessie have an increase in their average number of household per unit.

4.3.2 Existing Centers

EC in the census year 1994, averaged 1.05household per housing unit where Harar has the highest average while Awassa has the largest share of two households per housing unit. Table 4-3b below presents the details of the occupancy rate.

Table 4-3b: Occupancy ratio in Existing Centers

N	Urban centers	Addition in housing unit	Addition in household	Change	Production coverage of new formation	household per housing unit		
						1984	1994	Change
1	Awassa	7739	8242	6.5%	93.9%	1.10	1.08	-1.7%
2	Harar	3466	3408	-1.7%	101.7%	1.05	1.04	-1.3%
3	Mekelle	9134	8762	-4.1%	104.2%	1.10	1.04	-5.4%
	Total/ Average	20339	20412	0.3%	99.9%	1.08	1.05	-2.8%

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

As regards the pace of housing production in the intercensal period the performance shows about 99.9% coverage of the new household formation for EC on average (without considering the existing backlog). During the period there was a general decrease in the average number of household per housing unit where Mekelle has the highest decrease.

4.3.3 Promoted Centers

PC during the considered period averaged 1.05household per housing unit (same as EC) where Jijiga has an average of 1.00household per housing unit while Asosa has the highest average number of household per housing unit. Asosa has also the largest share in the two households per housing unit category. Table 4-3c below presents the details of the distribution in the individual centers.

Table 4-3c: Occupancy ratio in Promoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Addition in housing unit	Addition in household	Change	Production coverage of new formation	household per housing unit		
						1984	1994	Change
1	Asosa	1677	1861	11.0%	90.1%	1.02	1.08	5.6%
2	Aysaita	1249	1162	-7.0%	107.5%	1.13	1.05	-7.2%
3	Bahir Dar	10602	10566	-0.3%	100.3%	1.12	1.05	-5.8%
4	Gambella	3066	3289	7.3%	93.2%	1.02	1.06	3.8%
5	Jijiga	6046	6000	-0.8%	100.8%	1.05	1.02	-2.6%
	Total/ Average	22640	22878	2.0%	98.4%	1.07	1.05	-1.2%

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

The pace of housing production in the intercensal period shows about 98.4% coverage of the new household formation for PC on average (without considering the existing backlog). During the period there was a general decrease in the average number of household per housing unit

where Aysaita has the highest decrease while Asosa and Gambella show increases in their average number of household per housing unit.

4.4 Tenure Status

4.4.1 Demoted Centers

The 1994 census on tenure status reveals that for DC in general rented units have the majority, where Asella has the highest share while Arba Minch, Debre Markos, Goba, and Nekemte have largest portions of owner occupied units. The details of the tenure status are presented in table 4-4a below. From the rented units, Dessie has the highest share of dwellings that are rented from Kebele while Arba Minch and Nekemte have largest portions of units that are rented from the private sector. The value of the housing unit as expressed through rent paid per unit stands at an average of Birr 25.44 for DC where Metu has the highest average and Jimma has the highest total rent. As regards units that are rented at less than Birr 150, which account for the majority of the rented units, Goba has the largest share.

Table 4-4a: Tenure status in Demoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Owner occupied as % of total units				Rented as % of total units				Average rent		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Change
1	Arba Minch	52.5%	50.9%	2295	7.5%	42.7%	44.0%	2092	8.1%	14.36	24.96	73.8%
2	Asella	*N.A.	38.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	57.2%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	20.98	*N.A.
3	Debre Markos	60.8%	51.6%	-123	-0.2%	38.0%	42.4%	904	2.5%	21.18	19.61	-7.4%
4	Dessie	47.4%	37.9%	256	0.4%	49.7%	52.9%	2565	3.3%	23.44	20.01	-14.6%
5	Goba	60.5%	48.8%	179	0.6%	37.4%	45.8%	1100	4.9%	10.07	15.75	56.4%
6	Gondar	54.2%	41.2%	524	0.6%	43.8%	51.5%	4386	5.1%	10.45	19.51	86.7%
7	Jimma	47.8%	40.5%	1504	2.5%	48.3%	50.1%	3081	4.6%	22.18	25.36	14.3%
8	Metu	52.2%	42.7%	318	2.1%	44.0%	46.0%	660	4.7%	18.12	31.87	75.9%
9	Nekemte	54.5%	52.1%	1981	5.9%	41.4%	42.1%	1721	6.5%	18.65	25.44	36.4%
	Total/ Average	53.7%	44.7%	6934	2.4%	43.2%	48.0%	16509	5.0%	17.31	25.44	25.6%

*N.A.: Not Available

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

In the intercensal period the share of owner occupied from total units decreased for DC in general while the share of rented units increased. Gondar has the largest addition and Arba Minch has the fastest rate in rented units. Furthermore there is a general decrease in the share of units rented from the public sector along with a formidable development of units rented from the private sector after 1991, which resulted in the increase of total and average rent. Gondar has the largest increase in both cases while for DC in general the share of units rented for less than Birr 150 decreased.

4.4.2 Existing Centers

The tenure status in EC reveals that here also rented units have the majority, where Harar has the highest share. The details of the tenure status are presented in table 4-4b below. From the rented units, again Harar has the majority of its units that are rented from Kebele while Awassa and Mekelle have largest portions of units that are rented from the private sector. The value of the housing unit as expressed through rent paid per unit stands at an average of Birr 38.53 for EC where Mekelle has the highest average and the highest total rent. As regards units that are rented at less than Birr 150, which account for the majority of the rented units, Harar has the largest share.

Table 4-4b: Tenure status in Existing Centers

N	Urban centers	Owner occupied as % of total units				Rented as % of total units				Average rent		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Change
1	Awassa	52.8%	34.6%	1572	4.0%	44.0%	58.7%	5448	11.7%	14.98	34.49	130.2%
2	Harar	47.1%	30.2%	-1315	-2.2%	47.6%	58.8%	3613	4.4%	12.53	21.36	70.5%
3	Mekelle	57.1%	43.6%	2300	2.8%	40.3%	46.4%	4996	7.1%	14.87	59.74	301.7%
	Total/ Average	52.3%	36.1%	2557	1.6%	44.0%	54.6%	14057	7.8%	14.13	38.53	167.5%

*N.A.: Not Available
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

During the intercensal period the share of owner occupied from total units for EC in general decreased while that of rented units increased. Awassa has the largest addition and the fastest rate in rented units. A further investigation revealed that there is a general decrease in the share of units rented from the public sector along with a formidable development of units rented from the private sector after 1991, which resulted in the increase of total and average rent. Mekelle has the largest increase in both cases while for EC in general the share of units rented for less than Birr 150 decreased.

4.4.3 Promoted Centers

Considering the tenure status in PC, owner occupied units have the majority, where Gambella has the highest share. The details of the tenure status are presented in table 4-4c below. The share of units rented from the private sector reveals Asosa as having the highest proportion. The value of the housing unit as expressed through rent paid per unit stands at an average of Birr 35.58 for PC where Asosa has the highest average while Bahir Dar has the highest total rent. Furthermore units rented at less Birr 150 account for the majority of the rented units in general with the highest in Asosa. During the intercensal period the available Bahir Dar presented 4.6% growth rate in owner occupied units and 11.5% in rented units. The share of its units that were rented from the public sector decreased along with the development of units rented from the private sector after 1991 while the share of its units rented for less than Birr 150 increased.

Table 4-4c: Tenure status in Promoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Owner occupied				Rented				Average rent	
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994
1	Asosa	*N.A.	47.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	46.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	38.02
2	Aysaita	41.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	54.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	13.78	*N.A.
3	Bahir dar	61.1%	44.5%	3182	4.6%	35.8%	49.3%	6463	11.5%	27.7	31.3
4	Gambella	*N.A.	51.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	28.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	37.43
5	Jijiga	38.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	55.0%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	11.25	*N.A.
	Total/ Average	47.3%	47.6%	3182	4.6%	48.4%	41.2%	6463	11.5%	11.78	35.58

*N.A.: Not Available

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

4.5 Summary

To sum up housing availability at 0.2million (13.5% of national urban) in the selected centers could be adequate with on average a majority of 95.5% permanent housing units and an average of 1.07household per housing unit. The housing availability in the selected centers have been keeping up with a 6.3% growth rate compared to that of new household formation of 6.0% growth rate.

Category wise, during the intercensal period DC got the largest share and greater addition of housing stock and number of rooms in sharp contrast to EC and PC categories. This is expected as DC holds larger number of urban centers. DC has the slowest growth rates as against EC and specially PC, which grew at a rate that is more than twice. This may be due to status change that has accelerated the production rate for EC and PC while relatively the rate of DC presents some decline. In general inasmuch as the available data stands EC has the largest share and the largest addition of one room units; closely followed by PC, which has the fastest growth rates while it also presents the highest decrease in its number of average room per housing unit. This implies that EC and PC experienced further room subdivision than DC, which comparatively has units

of larger sizes with the highest average number of rooms per housing unit. This could be part of the attempt to cope up with the accelerated population increase due to the status upgrading.

As regards the structure and building, EC has the largest share of multistoried units while PC has the relatively largest share of single storied units. Comparatively DC has the largest shares of detached units and attached units from the single storied units. DC has the largest share of permanent housing compared to PC, which has the highest share of improvised structure. Inasmuch as the available data is concerned DC has the slowest growth rates in its permanent, improvised, single, and multistoried units while PC has the fastest growth rates. Similarly DC has the slowest rates of additional detached and attached units while again PC has the fastest rates of the group. In all cases the detached units outnumber the attached units, which reveals the horizontal spread of the urban centers and might explain the increase of owner-occupied illegal spontaneous settlement, which have the advantage of taking relatively less time to construct than legal standard units

Considering occupancy rate DC has the highest share of household per housing unit compared to that of EC and PC but all have a pronounced experience of co-dwelling. The average number of household per unit in EC presented the smallest decrease over the considered period while PC had the fastest decrease. According to the available data DC has the highest distribution of two households per housing unit as against EC which has the highest share of one household per housing unit closely followed by PC. This likewise enforces the suggestion that the status change in EC and PC increased migration and related construction of self-made *Tchereka-Bets*

while in DC households preferred to share existing units, which could indicate the decline of the construction of new houses and further the decline of status.

On the whole PC has the fastest pace of housing production in the intercensal period following its fastest pace of population increase while DC has the slowest pace of housing production and a decrease in its household size. EC saw a decrease in the share of owner occupied units while having the highest increases in its rented units. This means that the distribution of housing availability in the regional centers under study presents spatial variations among categories. Furthermore there is greater variations between equal status centers, which are mainly due to the diversity in physical set-up, land use pattern and population characteristics but also to the status change.

5. HOUSING QUALITY IN REGIONAL CAPITALS

This section as per the objective of the study deals with the description of the housing quality in the regional centers over the period 1984-94. Housing quality is expressed through components such as the quality of the construction material, of the related facilities and utilities, and the room density, which are investigated in detail in this study. The components are discussed through indicators such as the number of persons per room; the type of material used for wall, roof, and floor; source of drinking water, energy, and communication; type of kitchen and toilet. The current pattern is presented through the spatial study of the housing performance while the recent trend is examined from the temporal study of the pace in light of the status change.

5.1 Construction Material

5.1.1 Demoted Centers

Construction material as an indicator of housing unit quality shows that in general for DC the housing units as per the available data are made of wood and mud walls, corrugated iron sheet roof, mud/ earth floor, and no ceiling. Table 5-1a below presents the details of the major construction materials. Individually Goba has the highest share of wood and mud wall while Gondar has the highest share in stone and mud wall. Dessie has the highest share in corrugated iron sheet roofs and Arba Minch has the highest in thatched roof. Debre Markos has the highest share in mud/ earth floor and Goba has the highest shares in wood and bamboo/ reed floors. Debre Markos has the highest share of no ceiling and Jimma has the highest of fabrics and chipwood/ hardboard.

Table 5-1a: Construction Material for Demoted Centers

N	Urban centers	wood and mud walled units as % of total units				corrugated iron sheet roofed units as % of total units				mud/earth floored units as % units		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition
1	Arba minch	73.1%	76.3%	3668	8.3%	73.4%	75.5%	3585	8.1%	71.0%	74.2%	3572
2	Asella	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	69.7%	*N.A.
3	Debre markos	90.1%	95.4%	1638	2.0%	87.7%	92.8%	1587	2.0%	82.2%	86.2%	1415
4	Dessie	87.4%	90.5%	4070	3.0%	91.5%	95.0%	4311	3.1%	69.5%	71.4%	3134
5	Goba	86.2%	95.9%	1924	3.9%	85.3%	91.9%	1716	3.6%	64.4%	52.9%	253
6	Gondar	65.5%	72.3%	5539	4.5%	89.5%	92.5%	6192	3.8%	79.9%	80.9%	5169
7	Jimma	80.2%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	89.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	52.8%	59.0%	4087
8	Metu	73.9%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	79.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	69.5%	72.1%	1019
9	Nekemte	83.9%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	86.6%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	66.3%	66.3%	2707
	Total/ Average	**79.7%**	**86.1%**	**16839**	**4.3%**	**85.3%**	**89.5%**	**17391**	**4.1%**	**69.5%**	**70.3%**	**21356**

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

During the intercensal period for DC in general the share of wood and mud walled units increased where Gondar has the largest addition while Arba Minch has the fastest rate of growth. The share of corrugated iron sheet roofed units also increased where again Gondar has the largest addition while Arba Minch has the fastest rate but also the largest addition and fastest rate in thatch roofed units. The share of mud/ earth floored units and the share of cement/ concrete floored units increased during the period where Gondar has the largest addition of mud/ earth and Jimma has the largest addition of cement/concrete floor while Arba Minch has the fastest rates in both cases.

5.1.2 Existing Centers

In EC as per the available data, the major construction materials on average are wood and mud wall, corrugated iron sheet roofs, mud/ earth floor, and no ceiling. Table 5-1b below presents

the details of the major construction materials. Harar has the highest share of wood and mud wall, of wood and mud roof, of cement/ concrete floors, and of fabric and in chipwood/ hardboard ceilings. All the while Mekelle has the highest share of stone mud and wall, of corrugated iron sheet roofs, of mud/ earth floors and of no ceilings.

Table 5-1b: Construction Material for Existing Centers

N	Urban centers	wood and mud walled units as % of total units				corrugated iron sheet roofed units as % of total units				mud/earth floored units total units		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition
1	Awassa	84.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	87.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	57.3%	48.5%	3215
2	Harar	54.5%	66.6%	4002	4.3%	74.2%	83.9	4268	3.5%	55.3%	54.0%	1691
3	Mekelle	25.7%	26.9%	2608	6.1%	84.9%	91.8	9247	6.5%	65.6%	70.2%	6979
	Total/ Average	**54.8%**	**46.7%**	**6610**	**5.2%**	**82.1%**	**86.3%**	**13515**	**5.0%**	**59.2%**	**57.6%**	**11885**

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

During the intercensal period from the available data, the share of wood and mud walled units increased for EC in general. Harar has the largest addition of wood and mud walled units and Mekelle has the largest addition of stone and mud wall while it also has the fastest rates of growth in both cases. The share of corrugated iron sheet roofed units and that of mud/ earth floored units increased also with Mekelle having the largest addition in both cases. Meanwhile Harar has the largest addition in cement/concrete floored units while Awassa has the fastest shares in the two mud/earth and cement/ concrete categories.

5.1.3 Promoted Centers

The major character of the housing units' construction materials in PC are the wood and mud walls, the corrugated iron sheet roofs, the mud/ earth floors, and the non-existence of ceiling.

The major construction materials are presented in table 5-1c below. Awassa has the highest share of wood and mud walled units and Gambella has the highest share in wood and thatch walled units. Bahir Dar has the highest of corrugated iron sheet roofed units and Gambella has the highest share of thatched roofed units. Asosa has the highest share of mud/ earth flooring and of units without ceiling while Gambella has the highest share of cement/ concrete floored units and of units with chipwood/ hardboard ceiling.

Table 5-1c: Construction Material for Promoted Centers

N	Urban centers	wood and mud walled units as % of total units				corrugated iron sheet roofed units as % of total units				mud/earth floored units as % units		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition
1	Asosa	*N.A.	88.9%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	75.8%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	86.6%	*N.A.
2	Aysaita	75.2%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	6.9%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	83.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.
3	Bahir dar	84.4%	87.0%	9460	8.3%	79.1%	85.4%	9633	8.8%	77.9%	81.5%	8967
4	Gambella	*N.A.	65.7%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	43.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	77.8%	*N.A.
5	Jijiga	63.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	70.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	57.8%	*N.A.	*N.A.
	Total/ Average	74.3%	80.5%	9460	8.3%	52.1%	68.2%	9633	8.8%	73.0%	82.0%	8967

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

The available data for Bahir Dar showed increases in its wood and mud walled units, corrugated iron sheet roofed units, mud and earth and cement/concrete floored units.

5.2 Room Density

5.2.1 Demoted Centers

The room density expressed through the number of persons per room averaged 2.3 for DC as per the available data. As table 5-2a shows, Arba Minch, Debre Markos, and Goba are below 2.5 (the UN maximum standard density) while Dessie and Gondar averaged over 2.5persons per

room. During the intercensal period room density as the average number of persons per room increased for DC in general with the highest increase in Dessie whereas Goba decreased in its average number of persons per room.

Table 5-2: Room Density for Demoted, Existing, and Promoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Average persons per room in Demoted Centers			Urban centers	Average persons per room in Existing Centers			Urban centers	Average persons p in Promoted Ce	
		1984	1984	Change		1984	1984	Change		1984	1984
1	Arba Minch	2.32	2.37	2.2%	Awassa	2.17	*N.A.	*N.A.	Asosa	*N.A.	1.94
2	Asella	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	Harar	2.21	2.40	8.4%	Aysaita	2.00	*N.A.
3	Debre Markos	1.76	1.90	12.5%	Mekelle	2.79	3.02	8.3%	Bahir Dar	2.40	2.47
4	Dessie	2.16	2.51	16.2%	Average	2.39	2.71	8.4%	Gambella	*N.A.	3.12
5	Goba	1.94	1.91	-1.7%					Jijiga	2.41	*N.A.
6	Gondar	2.79	2.88	3.2%					Average	2.27	2.51
7	Jimma	2.16	*N.A.	*N.A.							
8	Metu	1.94	*N.A.	*N.A.							
9	Nekemte	2.12	*N.A.	*N.A.							
	Average	**2.15**	**2.33**	**6.5%**							

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

5.2.2 Existing Centers

Room density as per the available data, averaged 2.77persons per unit for EC where Harar is below the UN 2.5 standard while Mekelle is over as presented in table 5-2. The intercensal period saw the general increase of room density in EC where Harar has the highest increase in its average number of persons per room.

5.2.3 Promoted Centers

According to the 1994 census, the room density in PC averaged 2.51persons per unit where Asosa and Bahir Dar are below the UN 2.5persons per unit standard while Gambella is above.

As shown in table 5-2, during the intercensal period 1984-94 Bahir Dar had an increase in its average number of persons per unit.

5.3 Utilities

5.3.1 Demoted Centers

As regards access to public services in DC, water is available through taps for 2/3 of the units on average where Arba Minch has the highest share while Jimma has the highest share in water available through protected wells and springs. As the main source of lighting electric meter accounts for about half where Asella has the highest share of units with electric meter while Metu has the highest share of units using kerosene lamp.

Table 5-3a: Utilities for Demoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Units with Tap water supply as % of total unit				Units with Well and water bodies supply as % of total unit				Units with Electric meter as % of total unit				Units with Kerosene lamp total unit		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition
1	Arba minch	84.8%	98.3%	5115	9.4%	13.6%	1.4%	-443	-14.3%	63.9%	74.5%	3889	9.5%	32.6%	24.7%	823
2	Asella	*N.A.	68.7%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	30.9%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	93.5%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	5.7%	*N.A.
3	Debre markos	40.6%	67.6%	3100	6.7%	57.6%	31.9%	-1746	-4.4%	73.8%	79.1%	1435	2.1%	23.2%	19.4%	-75
4	Dessie	87.4%	96.6%	5123	3.7%	9.2%	2.9%	-727	-1.6%	73.1%	90.1%	5911	4.8%	22.9%	8.6%	-1568
5	Goba	5.1%	77.2%	4632	34.8%	92.3%	22.5%	-3007	-10.7%	50.6%	81.6%	2732	7.8%	40.4%	17.1%	-859
6	Gondar	73.8%	84.3%	6857	4.8%	23.8%	15.1%	-420	-1.2%	75.5%	88.2%	7450	5.1%	21.3%	10.3%	-1060
7	Jimma	42.7%	45.5%	2940	4.9%	53.0%	54.0%	3212	4.4%	76.7%	79.0%	4805	4.5%	18.3%	18.9%	1150
8	Metu	67.4%	81.0%	1424	6.1%	28.1%	18.4%	-8	-0.1%	51.8%	71.6%	1457	7.6%	40.5%	27.0%	7
9	Nekemte	56.1%	57.9%	2409	6.7%	39.4%	41.6%	1778	7.0%	65.7%	79.4%	3831	8.4%	28.1%	19.8%	40
	Total/ Average	57.2%	75.2%	31,600	9.6%	39.6%	24.3%	-1,361	-2.8%	66.4%	81.9%	31,510	6.2%	28.4%	16.8%	-1174

*N.A.: Not Available.

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

During the intercensal period Gondar has the largest additional tap water access (whether shared or private whether within compounds or outside) and Jimma has the largest additional water access directly from water bodies and wells. Whereas Goba has the fastest growth rate tap water access and Nekemte has the fastest rate in the water access directly from water bodies and wells. Meanwhile Gondar has the largest addition in units with electric meter and Jimma has the largest addition in units using Kerosene lamp while Arba Minch has the fastest growth rate in both cases.

Table 5-3a: Utilities for Demoted Centers (continued)

N	Urban centers	Units using firewood and charcoal as % of total units				Units with Telephone as % of total units				Units without Telephone total units		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition
1	Arba minch	22.4%	88.8%	6866	23.7%	5.0%	2.9%	1651	2.2%	92.7%	96.8%	4659
2	Asella	*N.A.	88.8%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	9.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	90.2%	*N.A
3	Debre markos	36.4%	93.3%	5927	11.4%	8.7%	13.0%	3742	5.6%	89.3%	86.6%	859
4	Dessie	25.3%	83.0%	11075	15.6%	8.1%	8.4%	6073	3.1%	89.3%	91.2%	3931
5	Goba	20.0%	93.8%	4968	20.0%	3.4%	6.7%	2365	10.1%	96.0%	93.2%	1285
6	Gondar	44.1%	95.0%	13776	11.7%	5.0%	7.0%	6738	6.8%	93.5%	92.6%	5601
7	Jimma	51.2%	91.4%	9809	10.4%	8.4%	14.5%	5189	10.0%	88.3%	85.1%	4538
8	Metu	40.5%	87.9%	2391	12.6%	4.5%	16.2%	1110	18.3%	91.3%	83.2%	889
9	Nekemte	34.6%	95.7%	6713	17.8%	5.7%	9.8%	2367	12.4%	90.1%	90.0%	3609
	Total/ Average	34.3%	90.9%	61525	13.7%	6.1%	9.8%	4583	8.6%	91.3%	89.9%	25371

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

Firewood and charcoal are in general the major fuels used for cooking in DC where Nekemte has the highest consumption while Gondar has the largest addition over the intercensal period and Arba Minch has the fastest rate. As regards provision of communication mediums the share of units with telephone increased in general but the share of units without telephone, which

accounts for the majority of the units, also increased. Metu has the fastest rate in units with telephone while Arba Minch has the fastest rate in units without telephone.

5.3.2 Existing Centers

As regards access to basic infrastructure in EC, water is available through taps for about 4/5 of the units on average where Harar has the highest share of tap water though it has currently water supply problems and Mekelle has the highest share in water from wells. Considering lighting provisions, on average EC has about 4/5 of its units supplied with electric meter where Harar has the highest share of units with electric meter while Gambella has the highest share of units with kerosene lamp. Table 5-3b below presents the details of the distribution of the utilities.

Table 5-3b: Utilities for Existing Centers

N	Urban centers	Units with Tap water supply as % of total unit				Units with Well and water bodies supply as % of total unit				Units with Electric meter as % of total unit				Units with Kerosene lamp total unit		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition
1	Awassa	84.8%	94.9%	8745	11.6%	24.6%	4.4%	-892	-8.6%	83.3%	95.2%	8098	10.0%	12.1%	4.1%	-172
2	Harar	89.1%	96.6%	4393	3.1%	8.3%	2.4%	-741	-9.6%	83.4%	95.3%	4977	3.6%	8.0%	2.7%	-646
3	Mekelle	72.9%	82.4%	8709	7.0%	24.4%	17.0%	630	1.9%	79.0%	84.8%	8476	6.4%	17.4%	12.8%	585
	Total/ Average	82.3%	91.3%	21847	7.2%	19.1%	7.9%	-1003	-5.4%	81.9%	91.8%	21551	6.7%	12.5%	6.5%	-233

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

During the intercensal period the share of units with water access from tap increased while the share of units using unprotected water sources decreased for EC in general. Mekelle has the largest additions in the tap water access and water access directly from water bodies and wells while Awassa has the fastest rates. In the case of lighting provision the period saw the increase

in the share of units with electric meter and the decrease in the share of units with kerosene lamp lighting. Mekelle has the largest addition in units with electric meter but also the largest addition in units using kerosene lamp. At the same time Awassa has the fastest rate in units with electric meter and Harar has the fastest decrease rate in the use of kerosene lamp.

Table 5-3b: Utilities for Existing Centers (continued)

N	Urban centers	Units using firewood and charcoal as % of total units				Units with Telephone as % of total units				Units without Telephone total units		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition
1	Awassa	30.9%	77.4%	8832	19.0%	7.3%	9.3%	842	11.2%	89.8%	90.5%	7049
2	Harar	49.1%	80.5%	7180	7.4%	6.3%	9.1%	710	6.1%	90.0%	90.2%	3156
3	Mekelle	79.5%	89.3%	9379	6.9%	6.9%	4.6%	122	1.3%	91.3%	95.1%	9154
	Total/ Average	**53.2%**	**82.4%**	**25391**	**11.1%**	**6.8%**	**7.7%**	**1674**	**6.2%**	**90.4%**	**92.3%**	**19359**

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

As the main source of fuel for cooking firewood and charcoal presents a considerable increase over the intercensal period where Mekelle has the highest share and the largest addition in units using firewood and charcoal while Awassa has the fastest rate of increase in use. Telecommunication service is accessible for EC in general to 1/10 of the total units and over the 1984-94 period the general coverage increased but the share of units without telephone has also increased. Awassa has the highest share and the largest addition in units using telephone but it also has the fastest rate of growth in units without telephone.

5.3.3 Promoted Centers

Water supply in PC is mainly accessible to housing units through tap supply system where Bahir Dar has the highest share of tap water supply while Asosa and Gambella have the highest share in water supply from unprotected wells, springs, and rivers. The major lighting system electricity

is available to about 2/3 of the total units in PC where Bahir Dar has the highest share in units with electric meter while Gambella has the highest share in units using kerosene lamp. Table 5-3c presents the details of the distribution of utilities in PC.

Table 5-3c: Utilities for Promoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Units with Tap water supply as % of total unit				Units with Well and water bodies supply as % of total unit				Units with Electric meter as % of total unit				Units with Kerosene lamp total unit		
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition
1	Asosa	*N.A.	32.6%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	65.7%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	74.9%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	23.5%	*N.A.
2	Aysaita	71.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	24.5%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	34.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	45.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.
3	Bahir dar	84.6%	88.6%	9766	8.5%	12.2%	11.0%	1049	6.8%	78.3%	84.2%	9466	8.8%	18.2%	15.1%	1308
4	Gambella	*N.A.	66.9%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	31.8%	1306	*N.A.	*N.A.	39.2%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	53.3%	*N.A.
5	Jijiga	82.2%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	15.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	76.0%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	6.8%	*N.A.	*N.A.
	Total/ Average	79.4%	62.7%	9,766	8.5%	17.4%	36.2%	2,355	6.8%	62.9%	66.1%	9,466	8.8%	23.5%	30.6%	1,308

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

During the intercensal period as per the available data for PC in general the share of units with tap water supply decreased while the share of units with unprotected water supply increased. As regards individual centers, for Bahir Dar distinctly the share of units with tap water supply increased while the share of units with unprotected water supply decreased. The share of units with electric meter increases in general over the considered period but the share of units with kerosene lamp also increases. Meanwhile the share of kerosene lamp in Bahir Dar is decreasing.

Table 5-3c: Utilities for Promoted Centers (continued)

N	Urban centers	Units using firewood and charcoal as % of total units				Units with Telephone as % of total units				Units without Telephone as % of total units			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Asosa	*N.A.	89.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	4.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	94.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.
2	Aysaita	20.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	4.7%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	92.0%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
3	Bahir dar	66.0%	89.4%	11632	11.3%	7.1%	5.0%	330	4.2%	91.1%	94.8%	10395	8.4%
4	Gambella	*N.A.	82.5%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	3.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	94.5%	*N.A.	*N.A.
5	Jijiga	74.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	4.7%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	92.8%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
	Total/ Average	53.5%	87.0%	11632	11.3%	5.5%	4.2%	330	4.2%	92.0%	94.6%	10395	8.4%

Firewood and charcoal as the main sources of fuel for cooking in PC present a considerable increase where Asosa has the highest share. On the other hand considering the available data the provision of telephone for PC in general decreased over the intercensal period while the share of units without telephone increased. Bahir Dar presents faster rates for units without than for units with telephone.

5.4 Facilities

5.4.1 Demoted Centers

Considering the quality of the housing facilities for DC in general toilet as the basic facility accounts for about 2/3 of the total units with a majority of units with pit latrine. The details of the facilities distribution are presented in table 5-4a below. Nekemte has the highest share of units with toilet and Dessie has the highest in share of units with pit latrine. Gondar on the other hand, has the highest share in units without toilet facility.

Table 5-4a: Facilities in Demoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Units without toilet as % of total units				Units with toilet as % of total units				Share of pit latrine as % of total units with toilet			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Arba Minch	49.5%	32.5%	805	3.4%	49.8%	66.2%	3,746	10.9%	91.2%	94.9%	341	10.4%
2	Asella	*N.A.	34.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	64.8%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	93.5%	*N.A.	*N.A.
3	Debre Markos	49.9%	33.4%	-956	-2.6%	49.2%	65.6%	2,193	4.4%	90.5%	93.7%	-84	-2.8%
4	Dessie	46.7%	38.0%	360	0.6%	51.7%	60.3%	3,576	4.3%	84.1%	87.6%	-181	-3.4%
5	Goba	57.8%	23.7%	-1,277	-6.0%	41.0%	75.5%	2,800	9.2%	97.9%	96.6%	-5	-1.1%
6	Gondar	64.2%	50.2%	943	0.9%	34.6%	48.3%	5,112	6.9%	84.5%	87.9%	51	1.0%
7	Jimma	40.7%	27.3%	55	0.1%	56.7%	71.5%	5,791	6.6%	88.1%	92.5%	85	1.3%
8	Metu	48.0%	28.9%	-113	-0.9%	49.5%	70.2%	1,466	7.9%	91.4%	91.9%	87	6.4%
9	Nekemte	41.6%	21.9%	-46	-0.2%	55.7%	77.3%	4,125	9.9%	92.7%	95.0%	160	5.3%
	Total/ Average	49.8%	32.3%	-229	-0.6%	48.5%	66.6%	28,809	7.5%	90.0%	92.6%	454	2.1%

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

The performance of toilet provision during the intercensal period increased for DC in general and the share of units with pit latrine also increased while the share of units without toilet decreased. Jimma has the largest addition in units with toilet and Arba Minch has the largest addition in share of units with pit latrine and it also has the fastest rates in both cases. Meanwhile Debre Markos, Dessie, and Goba have a decrease in their share of units with pit latrine facility.

Within DC in general, the majority of units have no bathing facility and of those provided with bathing facility the share of units with shower accounts for the majority. Dessie has the highest of units without bathing facility while Arba Minch has the highest share of units with bathing facility and Metu has the highest in share of units with shower facility. As regards the provision of kitchen for DC in general, which is available in about half of the units, the share of traditional kitchen takes up the majority. Asella has the highest share of units with kitchen and Goba has the highest in share of units with traditional kitchen while Gondar has the highest share without kitchen.

Table 5-4a: Facilities in Demoted Centers (continued)

N	Urban centers	Units with bathing facility as % of total units				Units with kitchen as % of total units				Share of units with traditional kitchen as % of units with kitchen			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Arba Minch	6.8%	7.2%	351	8.4%	54.6%	57.9%	2,824	8.4%	92.3%	92.2%	2,602	8.4%
2	Asella	*N.A.	3.6%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	81.6%	8,119	*N.A.	*N.A.	95.1%	7,725	*N.A.
3	Debre Markos	6.1%	4.0%	-124	-2.7%	52.0%	58.1%	1,236	2.5%	96.7%	91.8%	922	2.0%
4	Dessie	7.5%	3.6%	-377	-4.6%	61.8%	74.7%	4,739	4.6%	95.3%	93.1%	4,222	4.4%
5	Goba	1.5%	1.3%	10	1.3%	60.8%	76.2%	1,897	5.1%	99.7%	97.5%	1,788	4.9%
6	Gondar	4.8%	4.0%	138	1.7%	41.4%	45.4%	3,426	4.4%	97.2%	89.1%	2,530	3.5%
7	Jimma	8.3%	6.0%	74	0.8%	58.8%	64.3%	4,323	5.1%	95.7%	94.1%	3,958	4.9%
8	Metu	5.6%	5.5%	71	4.1%	43.6%	52.7%	933	6.2%	94.1%	83.0%	650	4.9%
9	Nekemte	6.8%	5.4%	155	4.0%	51.7%	66.3%	3,350	9.1%	93.8%	91.9%	3,035	8.8%
	Total/ Average	5.9%	4.5%	298	1.6%	53.1%	64.1%	30,847	5.7%	95.6%	92.0%	27,432	5.2%

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

The performance of bathing facility over the intercensal period is slow for DC in general with a decrease in the share of units with bathing facility but an increase in the share of units with shower provision. As an exception Arba Minch presents the largest performance in the share of units with bathing facility. For the rest of the centers in DC the performance in the share of units with bathing facility decreased. Arba Minch has also the largest share of additional units with shower and the fastest rates while Debre Markos has a decrease over the years of its share of units with shower. As regards the provision of kitchen DC presents a general increase in the share of units with kitchen while the share of units with traditional kitchen decreases. Dessie has the largest addition in both units with kitchen and the share of units with traditional kitchen while Arba Minch has the fastest growth rates.

Considering the provision of entertainment and information for DC in general radio stands as the major means accessible to about half of the units while television accounts for only 6% of total units. Jimma has the highest share in units with radio while Asella has the highest in television.

Table 5-4a: Facilities in Demoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Units with radio as % of total units				Units with television as % of total units			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Arba minch	39.9%	44.2%	2,231	8.9%	9.5%	3.2%	-111	-3.3%
2	Asella	*N.A.	63.2%	6,288	*N.A.	*N.A.	7.7%	763	*N.A.
3	Debre markos	44.7%	48.4%	916	2.2%	12.1%	4.5%	-578	-8.1%
4	Dessie	45.3%	54.4%	3,413	4.6%	10.5%	7.6%	- 89	-0.6%
5	Goba	49.3%	50.3%	813	3.0%	3.7%	3.1%	16	0.9%
6	Gondar	43.5%	47.1%	3,485	4.3%	6.0%	6.2%	420	3.8%
7	Jimma	45.8%	53.9%	4,021	5.9%	8.7%	7.8%	343	3.0%
8	Metu	42.8%	51.1%	890	6.1%	7.7%	7.1%	77	3.3%
9	Nekemte	50.4%	53.9%	2,333	7.1%	5.0%	6.2%	300	8.5%
	Total/ Average	45.2%	51.8%	24,390	5.3%	7.9%	5.9%	1,141	0.9%

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

The performance of radio and television provision over the considered period for DC reveals a general increase in radio and a decrease in television provision. Jimma has the largest addition and Arba Minch has the fastest rate in units with radio while Gondar has the largest addition and Nekemte has the fastest rate in units with television.

5.4.2 Existing Centers

Considering the provision and quality of housing facilities in EC about half of the total units have toilet provision of which about 4/5 are pit latrines. Awassa has the highest share of units with toilet and also the highest in share of units with pit latrine while Harar has the highest share of units with no toilet facility. Table 5-4b below presents the individual distribution of housing facilities.

Table 5-4b: Facilities in Existing Centers

N	Urban centers	Units without toilet as % of total units				Units with toilet as % of total units				Share of pit latrine as % of total units with toilet			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Awassa	29.8%	9.6%	- 492	-3.1%	68.2%	89.1%	8,166	11.5%	94.9%	93.3%	7,557	11.3%
2	Harar	49.0%	28.7%	-1,850	-3.1%	49.4%	69.2%	5,163	5.7%	91.4%	88.3%	4,346	5.4%
3	Mekelle	62.0%	47.3%	2,488	2.8%	36.8%	51.0%	6,423	9.1%	75.3%	75.7%	4,878	9.2%
	Total/ Average	47.0%	28.5%	146	-1.1%	51.5%	69.7%	19,752	8.8%	87.2%	85.8%	16,781	8.6%

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

The performance of toilet provision in the intercensal period for EC was good in general with the increase in the share of units with toilet while the share of units with pit latrine and the decrease in the share of units without toilet decreased. Awassa has both the largest addition and the fastest growth rate in units with toilet.

Bathing facility in general is very low with Awassa having the highest share of about 12% with bathing facility and also the highest share of units with shower. Within EC the provision of kitchen accounts for about half of the total units with a majority in traditional kitchen. Harar has the highest share of units with kitchen while Mekelle has the highest in share of units with traditional kitchen.

Table 5-4b: Facilities in Existing Centers (continued)

N	Urban centers	Units with bathing facility as % of total units				Units with kitchen as % of total units				Share of units with traditional kitchen as % of units with kitchen			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Awassa	5.2%	11.7%	1,309	17.7%	66.6%	72.9%	6,023	9.5%	96.7%	86.4%	4,785	8.3%
2	Harar	5.6%	7.6%	539	5.4%	72.6%	58.0%	-32	0.0%	97.4%	87.6%	-1,025	-1.1%
3	Mekelle	6.6%	5.5%	350	3.6%	77.3%	71.1%	5,717	4.8%	96.8%	90.5%	4,570	4.1%
	Total/ Average	5.8%	8.3%	2,198	8.9%	72.2%	67.3%	11,708	4.7%	97.0%	88.2%	8,330	3.8%

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

During the intercensal period the share of units with bathing increased with an average of 8.9% rate for EC in general where Awassa has the largest addition of units with bathing facility and the largest addition in units with shower while also having the fastest rates. The share of units with kitchen together with the share of units using traditional kitchen present a general decrease while individually the shares of Awassa increased.

As regards the provision of entertainment and information in EC radio has the major coverage at a little over half of the total units while television has only about 1/10 coverage. Harar has the largest share of units with radio and also the highest in television provision.

Table 5-4b: Facilities in Existing Centers (continued)

N	Urban centers	Units with radio as % of total units				Units with television as % of total units			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Awassa	44.4%	55.4%	4960	11.0%	8.4%	8.9%	726	9.2%
2	Harar	51.4%	69.7%	4975	5.4%	7.3%	10.6%	833	6.2%
3	Mekelle	37.3%	53.6%	6933	9.5%	7.7%	7.3%	611	5.0%
	Total/ Average	44.4%	59.6%	16868	8.6%	7.8%	8.9%	2170	6.8%

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

The performance of the radio and television provision within EC increased in general where Mekelle has the largest addition of units with radio and Harar has the largest addition of units with television access while Awassa has the fastest growth rates in both cases.

5.4.3 Promoted Centers

The quality of the housing facilities in PC reveal that about half of the total units have access to toilet, which has a majority in pit latrine. Asosa has the highest share of units with toilet provision and from these also the highest share pit latrine provision while Gambella has the highest share of units without toilet facility. The bathing facility distribution of individual centers is presented in the table 5-4c below. During the intercensal period the share of units with toilet along the share in units with pit latrine increased for Bahir Dar while the share of units without toilet decreased.

Table 5-4c: Facilities in Promoted Centers

N	Urban centers	Units without toilet as % of total units				Units with toilet as % of total units				Share of pit latrine as % of total units with toilet			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Asosa	*N.A.	9.9%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	86.7%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	99.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.
2	Aysaita	64.9%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	32.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	94.6%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
3	Bahir Dar	70.5%	50.4%	3500	4.4%	27.7%	48.7%	7091	14.2%	68.5%	85.2%	-1749	16.7%
4	Gambella	*N.A.	67.6%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	30.0%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	72.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.
5	Jijiga	48.2%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	50.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	90.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
	Total/ Average	61.2%	42.6%	3500	4.4%	36.8%	55.1%	7091	14.2%	84.5%	85.6%	-1749	16.7%

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

The provision of bathing facility in PC presents a majority of shower provision while a large portion of the total units have no bathing facility at all. Gambella has the highest share of units with bathing facility and also the highest in share of units with shower while Bahir Dar has the highest share of units without bathing facility. In PC Gambella has the highest share of 73.9% without kitchen while Asosa has the highest of 71.0% with kitchen and Bahir Dar has the

highest in units with traditional kitchen at 92.7% share of its total housing units. The 1984-94 period also saw the increase in the share of bathing facility and kitchen facility for Bahir Dar while the share of units with traditional kitchen decreased.

Table 5-4c: Facilities in Promoted Centers (continued)

N	Urban centers	Units with bathing facility as % of total units				Units with kitchen as % of total units				Share of units with traditional kitchen as % of units with kitchen			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Asosa	*N.A.	3.5%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	71.0%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	86.8%	1036	*N.A.
2	Aysaita	6.0%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	33.6%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	94.8%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
3	Bahir Dar	7.7%	5.8%	435	4.9%	37.8%	41.3%	4709	8.9%	92.1%	92.7%	7591	9.0%
4	Gambella	*N.A.	11.2%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	24.6%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	89.9%	*N.A.	*N.A.
5	Jijiga	5.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	56.5%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	97.4%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
	Total/ Average	6.3%	6.8%	435	4.9%	42.6%	45.6%	4709	8.9%	94.8%	89.8%	8627	9.0%

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

The quality of the provision of entertainment and information in PC reveals that radio is the major medium while covering about half of the total units in general. Television on the other hand has a much lower coverage. Asosa has the largest share of units with radio and Bahir Dar has the highest share of units equipped with television. In the case of the performance over the intercensal period Bahir Dar has an increase in its share of units with radio access while it presents a decrease in its share of units with television access.

Table 5-4c: Facilities in Promoted Centers (continued)

N	Urban centers	Units with radio as % of total units				Units with television as % of total units			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Asosa	*N.A.	54.7%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	2.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.
2	Aysaita	31.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	10.5%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
3	Bahir Dar	45.4%	46.1%	4949	8.1%	7.5%	4.4%	188	8.4%
4	Gambella	*N.A.	34.1%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	2.0%	*N.A.	*N.A.
5	Jijiga	41.8%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.	6.3%	*N.A.	*N.A.	*N.A.
	Total/ Average	39.5%	45.0%	4949	8.1%	8.1%	2.8%	188	8.4%

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

5.5 Summary

To sum up housing quality could be said less than adequate with 2.3persons per room on average, 75.9% tap water supply, 65% with toilet access, and 80.7% with electric meter lighting. Yet these figures are expected to alter (some more dramatically than others) during the last 5 to 6 years due to the development and better access of some services and infrastructure all over the country. Category wise considering the construction materials, DC has a majority share of wood and mud walls same as PC whereas EC has a majority of stone and mud wall. DC has the slowest growth rate of wood and mud walled units while PC has the fastest rate of growth and EC the fastest rate of growth in the stone and mud walled units. The construction material for the roofs, as far as the available data is concerned there is a majority of corrugated iron sheet roofs for all of the categories while thatched roof of straw and bamboo/ reed are still important. DC accounts for the largest addition in corrugated iron sheet roofed units while PC though with the smallest addition accounts for the fastest growth rate. As regards the construction material for the floors DC has a majority of mud/ and earth floor closely followed by PC while EC has the largest share of cement/ concrete floor. EC the largest addition of mud/earth floored units closely followed by DC while PC has the smallest share but the fastest rate of growth. PC has a majority of units with no ceiling while EC has a majority of units with fabric ceilings. In general

the data for the categories reflects the use of mainly local material available in the vicinity or mass use of imported material introduced during the previous periods.

Concerning room density from the available data DC has the lowest average while EC and PC are above the UN standard of 2.5 persons per room. Over the intercensal period DC and PC had increases in their household size as against EC, which had a decrease. In relation to this PC has the lowest increase while DC has the highest increase in the share of average number of persons per room. This reveals the existing overcrowding in EC and the related bigger size of households in PC but also the bigger size of housing units in DC where relatively there were may be no real need for further subdivision. As regards access to basic infrastructure in accordance with the assumption that government investment on infrastructure is related to status EC displays important share of units with tap water supply, electric meter and telephone. Relatively PC and DC display noticeable percentages in water supply directly from wells and water bodies, lighting from kerosene lamp, and low use of telephone despite its decades of existence. DC has the highest rate of increase in access to tap water and EC has the highest decrease of units with water access directly from water bodies and wells. In contrast PC has also an increase in its units with water access directly from wells and water bodies. PC has the fastest growth rate of units with electric meter and an additional increase of units with kerosene lamp while DC and EC show a decrease in their share of units with kerosene lamp. An interesting point is that the source of fuel for cooking used in all the categories is still firewood and charcoal, which means that the centers are still dependant on their environment for survival while threatening its survival specially in PC where the growth rates are the fastest. As regards provision of facilities though all categories present low coverage EC still stands out as having

the largest share of units with toilet, bathing facility, kitchen, radio and television. In relation to this DC has the largest shares and the largest additions of units with pit latrines, no bathing facility, and traditional kitchens. On the other hand PC presents the majority in share of units with no toilet, with showers, no kitchen, no radio, and television and the fastest rate in the majority of cases. Meanwhile EC has the highest growth rate in the share of units with bathing facility, with radio and television. Considering tenure status as far as the available data is concerned PC has the largest share and the fastest growth rate of owner occupied units as against EC, which has the largest share of rented units while DC has the largest addition in both cases. The share of the rented from Kebele is highest in DC whereas the share of the rented from private is highest in PC where the majority of the rented stock is rented from private. On the other hand all categories presented a decrease in their share of units that are rented from Kebele with the highest in EC. DC has as expected the biggest share of total rent yet EC with 1/3 number of urban centers performs equally with the fastest growth rate while PC though with the smallest share of housing stock manages to perform a respectable amount. In the case of average rent per housing unit though all categories present increases EC had more than doubled its initial amount. This may be due to the large number of private renting in EC and PC, which have higher amount of average monthly paid rent compared to the majority of Kebele renting at an amount of monthly rent that is less than Birr 150 in DC.

On the whole there is considerable variation in the performance and in the pace of housing quality between different categories of urban centers. All the categories present an increase in their room density and a general increase in their access to utilities and facilities. Yet there is greater variations in housing quality between equal status centers. Housing quality does not

show any substantial improvement over the intercensal period. The traditional residence wit wood and mud wall with mud/ earth floor and thatched roof has still an important place. Th large share of units lacking toilet facilities is an indication of poor sanitation and healt conditions. The variations among equal status centers, which are mainly due to the diversity i the nature and ease of access of building material, cultural and economic base and level o infrastructure development, again reflect the administrative status and the related level o development.

6. MAJOR FACTORS INFLUENCING THE VARIATIONS IN HOUSING AVAILABILITY AND QUALITY BETWEEN THE REGIONAL CAPITALS

The broad problem to be investigated in this study is concerned with the changes in housing availability and quality brought about through status change in regional centers. The inspection of the distribution of the housing availability and quality in the individual regional centers, as described in the two precedent chapters, clearly reveals that there exist spatial as well as temporal variations between and within equal status centers. This section primarily builds on the above findings and attempts to identify and analyze the major determinants of the variations in housing availability and quality in the regional centers in light of the 1991 status change.

6.1 Housing Availability

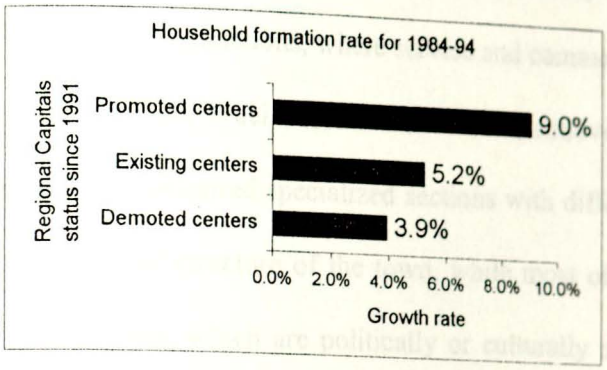
6.1.1 Housing Stock

The urban areas under consideration here are scattered throughout Ethiopia as could be expected from their functions. Today Ethiopia has over 60million people of which over 9million i.e. about 15% of the total population live in urban areas. The federal capital Addis Ababa, with over 2million inhabitants housing over 30% of the total urban population, still is a primate city. Comparatively the total population share of the selected regional centers at a total of about 1million persons makes up only 15% of the total urban population of the country. Furthermore the household share of the selected regional centers makes up only 14%

of the national urban areas with average household size of 4.5. Yet there are considerable variations in population size between these regional centers ranging from less than 15thousand to more than 100thousand. Similarly the household number varies from less than 3thousand to over 20thousand, which is reflected in the sizes of the housing stocks. The Ethiopian Western Highlands where the majority of the selected regional centers are located are known to contain more than 60% of the Ethiopian population with the well established biggest towns. In general the Southern Highlands, areas of Enset and coffee cultivation where most of the densely populated towns are located, have high yields and high population capacity. Whereas Northern Highlands, though birthplaces of most historic towns, have poor eroded soil, which gives low yield cereal and has relatively lower population capacity. Comparatively, the Lowlands are nomadic areas of shifting cultivation and cattle herding with even lower population capacity.

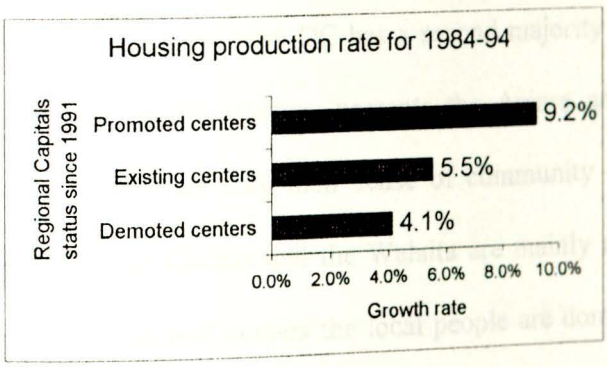
Unlike most parts of the world, in Ethiopia the urban centers in the hot Kolla lowlands and river valleys are generally inhospitable and sparsely populated. This is mainly because of their high temperature ranging between 22.0oC and 30.0oC, scarce building materials and insufficient water access and the higher incidence of harmful tropical diseases. Meanwhile the centers of the cool Weina Dega and Dega highlands are sites of dense settlements, where there are abundant building materials and ground water, and favorable climatic conditions with average 15.0oC to 22.0oC annual temperatures.

Figure 6-1: Household formation rate by regional status for 1984-94



Yet the household formation rate ranged from 15.1% in Gambella a regional center in the lowlands to 1.6% in Debre Markos a long-standing center in the western highlands while the housing production rate also ranged from 14.7% to 1.4% in the same centers respectively. Hence considering figure 6-1 and as discussed in previous chapters the performance of the household formation in regional centers seems to vary with the status held and the pace seems to vary with the status change. Accordingly the performance of the housing availability in regional centers while trying to keep up with the household formation seems to vary with the status held and the pace as shown in figure 6-2 seems to vary with the status change.

Figure 6-2: Housing production rate by regional status for 1984-94



The general land use pattern of the majority is composed of disorganized pockets of settlements with mixed functions, where service and commercial activities take up remarkable place due to the centers' crucial location and administrative status. However, there are some centers, which have acquired specialized sections with different land uses where a main axis generally dictates the structure of the town, while most of the ancient centers usually have major focal functions, which are politically or culturally significant. For centuries, religion has been an important focal point of the cultural life of Ethiopians, and Christianity has been traditionally predominant. Today still for the majority of the population (with an average of over 70%) the public worship places like the church and the mosque are the major gathering places. Modern civic centers were only recently introduced and not at a massive scale to make any difference.

Another important focal point was the great diversity of the ethnic composition of the Ethiopian population, which lived enclosed without communicating owing to the rugged terrain and unavigable rivers that separated them and developing their own peculiar traditions and customs and indigenous settlements. The value placed on housing differs in different cultures. The major ethnic groups of the regional centers in general are the Amara followed by the Oromo. Category wise DC has a second majority in the Gurage, EC in the Welamo, and PC in the Oromo. History presents the Amara and the Gurage as mainly the first urbanization promoters with their sense of community life and important non-agricultural activities while the Oromo and the Welaita are mainly agricultural people. Though for the majority of the regional centers the local people are dominant, regional centers in the south and most recent centers seem to attract people from the northern centers and old historical

centers. This regional distribution in the urbanization process has resulted in regional differentiation in the general settlement pattern, which is mixed with no real zoning of functions. The breakdown of the land use in the regional centers invariably reveals that the residential areas are dominant.

6.1.2 Occupancy

Considering the housing units' size as far as the available data stands for the regional centers on average presents a general decrease polarizing towards one-room-units. The further subdivision of existing units over the years and the construction of extensions within compounds are related to this. The majority of the available stock is permanent and is also single storied of which the share of detached units is the highest. Exceptionally PC has a higher performance in provision of attached units. In all cases EC has the largest shares while PC has the fastest rates. The diffusion of single storied detached and attached units is one of the reasons for the accelerated horizontal spread and sprawl of the regional centers.

The residential units are dispersed all over the urban space without following any specific zoning and in most cases mixed with other urban activities notably commercial and small-scale industry. Sharing of services and functions within the same unit is a very common habit, and housing units used for mixed purposes beside residential are considerable in number.

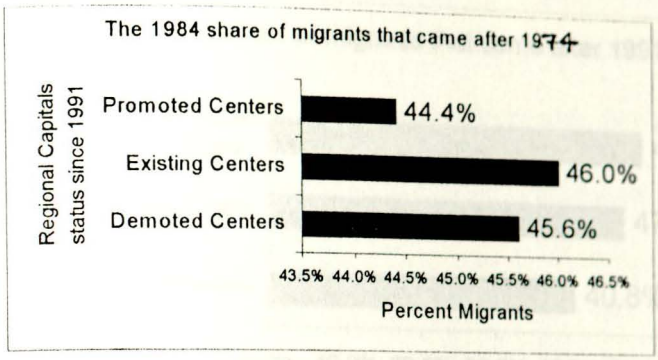
On the other hand, the occupancy rate presented a general decrease in co-dwelling where EC has the highest share of one-household-units. Yet the pace of the performance does not still cover the general housing shortage. The local attempts to respond to the problem could be

seen in the increase of smaller size, 'traditional', and rented housing units mostly Tchereka-Bets or squatter settlements. Though most of the centers have along the decades, attempted gridiron layouts, in recent years dominant organic settlements have overtaken the land use patterns due to the mostly rugged terrain characteristics but also due to the accelerated development of mainly Tchereka-Bets. During the intercensal period (1984-94) the majority of the regional centers outgrew their development plans and spread into neighboring rural areas creating boundary conflicts and leading to the proliferation of Tchereka-Bets. Furthermore in most cases the new settlements lacked the adequate provision of related infrastructure and services.

A further investigation of the location and development level of the regional centers revealed that accelerated population growth mainly from migration to the regional centers during the last couple of decades contributed to the development of squatter settlements.

The regional capitals population growth rate for the intercensal period (1984-94) averaged 4.9% which is a higher figure compared to the national urban 4.4% annual change. Furthermore the average migrant residents for the selected regional centers as per the available data, is about half a million taking up over 45% (the same as the national share). Yet the area of previous residence on average for the selected centers show that the majority to be from urban areas as against the national majority from rural areas.

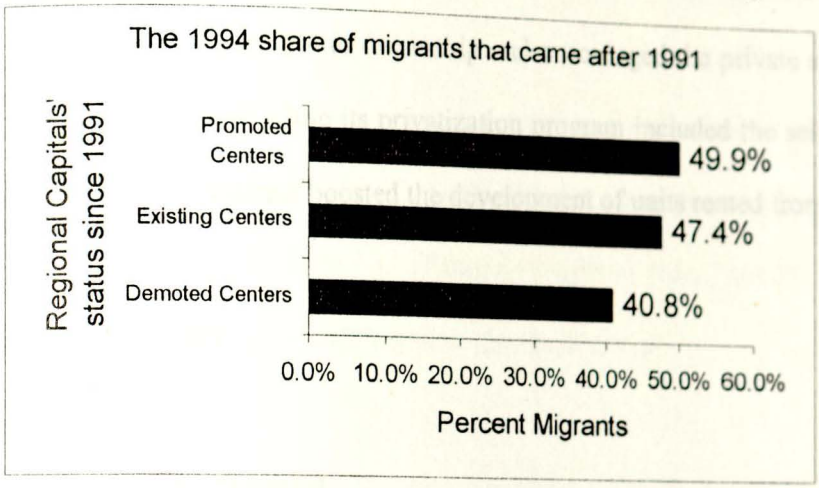
Figure 6-3: The 1984 share of migrants that came after 1980



The length of residence of migrant population in 1984 as presented in figure 6-3 shows on average that about 61% of the urban population have a total of less than 10 years of stay. Comparatively the length of residence of migrant population in 1994 as presented in figure 6-4 shows on average that about 46% of the urban population have a total of less than 5 years of stay. In general there are variations in the migration size and purposes between the regional centers.

The new administrative importance of upgraded regional capitals seems to invariably attract larger size of population than the centers that have lower status. Furthermore considered spatially, the large amounts of migration in the southern regional capitals are mostly due to attractive economic reasons while in the northern regional centers it is mainly due to security reasons. Considered individually, the regional centers in PC have greater male population, which could be related to the increase after 1991in male dominated migration to PC.

Figure 6-4: the 1994 share of migrants that came after 1991 by Regional Capital status



6.1.3 Tenure Security

Considering tenure security for the regional capitals as a whole there is a general increase in the share of private owners but there is also a higher increase in the share of renters. PC has the largest performance in share of owner occupied units, which could be associated with the higher occurrence of Tchereka-Bets in this category while EC has the largest performance in the share of rented units. Concurrently the general value of housing unit as indicated through the rent increased on average from Birr 16 in 1984 to Birr 33 in 1994 with EC having the highest average rent paid per housing unit while PC had the fastest pace of growth.

Over the intercensal period the share of units rented from Kebele decreased in general while the share of units rented from private showed a formidable development having the highest performance and pace in PC. The formidable growth of units rented from private is mainly due to the combination of the nationalization policy of the Derg government in the 1980s and the privatization policy followed by the current government. The Derg government

nationalized all urban land and extra houses and outlawed private involvement for about two decades. After the change of 1991 the current government still retained ownership of all urban land but guaranteed the right to ownership and encouraged the private sector involvement in real estate development while its privatization program included the selling of public owned houses. These as counteract boosted the development of units rented from the private sector.

6.2 Housing Quality

6.2.1 Construction Material

As regards housing quality, the performance in the regional centers seems to also vary with the status of the centers and the pace likewise seems to vary with the status change. The housing quality as mainly determined through the households' investment capacity, which are expressed in the level and pattern of income, consumption, and expenditure, revealed that the majority of households earn less than Birr 2000 per annum, of which 1/5 is the share of wages and salaries.

The break down of the population into broad age groups shows that for all of the regional centers the largest category is below 15 years old. This implies that the 15-59 years age group averaging about 60% of the total population as compared to 55% of the national urban supports a majority of dependent population. Furthermore the activity status for the total economically active population in general showed that the average activity rate is 45% against the national figure of 50% activity rate while the average unemployment rate is about 20% with over 80% without work experience (same as the national urban average).

This further indicates that the majority of households have only one member employee, which with an average household size of 4.6perons suggests the low levels of living in these regional centers. Category wise PC has the highest activity rate and offers a better perspective with a lower unemployment rate while EC has the lowest share of active population. DC has the fastest growth pace in the share of unemployed without work experience, a situation, which appears to be considerably reflecting their change of status.

In general housing as the second major expense takes-up 15.0% of households' income, including rent, energy, water, and construction materials. Food expenditure gets about half of total household expenses while transport and communication account for 3.2%, education for 1.6% and health care for 1.2% of total household expenditure. Meanwhile savings take up on average about 10% of the total household income (CSA, 1998b).

The general trend implies that most families could not afford 'standard' homes as set by the municipalities. The importance of 'traditional residence is widely proved by the major construction materials used in most of the centers. The wood and mud walls, the tatched roofs, the mud/ earth floors and the lack of ceilings, characterize the majority of the units. Category wise DC has a majority share of wood and mud walls whereas EC has a majority of stone and mud or cement walls. DC has a majority of corrugated iron sheet roofs and a majority of mud/ and earth floors while EC has a majority in cement/ concrete floors. PC has a majority of units without ceiling while EC has a majority of units with fabric ceilings. Though these are mostly less durable materials their easy availability within vicinity, the

relatively short time and cheap construction cost, and the adaptability to local weather conditions, has made them popular. Furthermore housing shortage has 'never reached alarming proportions' in the regional centers as compared to Addis Ababa.

6.2.2 Room Density

The room density presents a general increase despite the decrease in co-dwelling, owing to the general increase of household size. EC has above the UN standard of 2.5 persons per room with the highest increase in room density. Yet overcrowding is a relative term, as most of the households prefer to gather kinsmen together in a well-integrated mutual aid and 'wage-pulling' mechanism of saving. And mostly migrants stay with family. The disaggregation of the relationship of members of household to head of household includes distinctly from the spouse, the children and the parents, important shares of other relatives and non-relatives.

6.2.3 Utilities

As regards the quality of the housing utilities the 'new' intermediate centers are intended to develop autonomous management of resources and to provide physical and social services in hierarchical arrangement. The delivery system of urban social service functions, which is designed to match with the amount of population to be served in agreement with the concerned ministries and authorities includes the health care system, the education system, the civic centers, and the municipal service system. These will be based on the development of the physical infrastructure involving the transport and communication system, the water supply and sewerage drainage system, and the power supply system.

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from simple stations to organized branches and have also telephone exchange system that are digital automatic network installed during the imperial government. All the regional capitals have more or less adequately located cross-country bus terminals mostly in central areas, and all except Awassa have airfields or airports if not in the town in areas nearby. Yet there are no internal public buses with the exception of Jimma, few taxis, even much less motor cars and walking, cycling, and horse-drawn carts are the major transportation systems. As regards the internal road networks only the central areas are better served and have good accessibility to the available facilities while the peripheries end in winding lanes. This is mainly due to the absence of long distance trip generating activities and the relatively small sizes of the centers but also to low standard of living. On the whole yet again, the majority of the units provided with tap water and electric meter shared the utilities with other units or whole neighborhoods. Category wise DC has an increase in its units with water supply directly from well and water bodies while PC has an increase in its units with kerosene lamp. Furthermore the weak performance and pace of telephone supply is another indication that the infrastructure performance during the last decades could not keep up even with the housing production rate. What's more units use of firewood and charcoal has also considerably increased, which could be a threat to the surrounding environment as the centers get the wood from nearby forests that are being depleted at an alarming rate. Generally speaking the performance of housing utilities was low in the first place and at the current pace the quality of the utilities could be said to do not present any substantial improvements.

6.2.4 Facilities

Inasmuch as the quality of the housing facilities is concerned the period witnessed a general increase in the share of units provided with toilet, bathing, kitchen, radio, and television. Yet the period was also propitious for the increase in the share of units without facilities. Furthermore the

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Considering the access to residential services there has been few increases over the intercensal period. As regards educational facilities though the structure of the school system has

remained unchanged over the years; the current federal government gave university status to colleges in the regional capitals and further provides special finance and support to 'backward' regions and centers as part of its new educational policy. Yet the distributions of schools through out most of the centers are not balanced and are concentrated in some parts of the centers and there is high crowding even using a two-shift system as against the national norm (of UNESCO for Ethiopia).

This is mainly because the schools in these towns serve also the surrounding rural areas. The average literacy status as an indicator of performance of the selected centers as a whole showed that about 75% are literate as compared to the national urban 70% literate. DC has the highest share of percent literate while PC has the lowest literate population. Though in general literacy rate shows a substantial 6% growth rate illiteracy also is growing at an alarming 5% growth rate. Primary school on the average stands out as the highest education level completed with 40% of the literate population against the national 45%. PC has the highest share of the population that has completed primary education while DC has the lowest share.

Considering healthcare facilities there is in general inadequate provision of health care services or even shortage of health facilities due to the limited number of trained personnel, and clinics and centers, and their uneven distribution in the regional centers. Furthermore modern health facilities deteriorated over the last years from lack of maintenance and from shortages of equipment and drugs. The bulk of the regional centers' inhabitants must still rely on popular methods of treatment, where widespread use of traditional healing continues to be important as the services reach only a small part of the population. On the whole concerning

municipal services the absence or inefficiency or unhygienic nature of fire brigades, abattoirs, road drainage and sewage, garbage disposal sites, public toilets and baths characterize most of the regional centers.

6.3 Major Factors

In general the performance of the housing availability and quality was better in EC and the pace of the performance over the intercensal period 1984-94 was the fastest in PC while DC scored the lowest performances and the slowest paces. The 'investment' that comes with the designation of the cities as regional administrative centers has affected housing availability and quality. In the first place the status has affected the performance. Second the status change has further affected the pace of the housing availability and quality. The 1991 restructuring induced the centers in PC into accelerated housing performance and for the centers in DC it meant a comparatively slower pace while it helped EC to sustain its performance.

The investigation into the variation in housing availability and quality of individual centers clearly revealed that the performance was relatively better in the northern regional centers than in the southern regional centers. The majority of these northern centers have some significant manufacturing sectors and are ancient settlements, as part of the 'wandering capitals', that have played important roles in the economic, cultural and political development of Ethiopia. In contrast the pace was relatively better in newly formed regional centers than old historical regional centers of which some are even in decline. Almost all the new centers

started as military bases and garrison towns developing into market and services centers but with few significant manufacturing sectors. These were located at the crossing of transport networks and hence have evolved into strong urban centers as a result of the construction of major link-roads and or the development of commercial agriculture in their peripheries related to their administrative position.

The observed variations in housing availability and quality are mainly due to the complexity and diversity of the forces involved in the making. The examination of the profiles of the study areas revealed that the terrain characteristic and the land use patterns are the major features that acted in combination to shape the current settlement form of the regional centers. The factors shaping housing availability and quality in the individual centers were the favorable physical location, the easy access of building material and the households' capacities but also the selection of the centers as regional administrative capitals was a major influencing factor.

Physical locations have had considerable effects on the housing quality of settlements throughout the world. Furthermore case histories repeatedly identify easy access to building materials as distinguishing factors in the development of settlements and the provision of shelter. In addition the general population pattern, as the primary determinant of the variation in housing stocks, is a major indicator of the relatively small sizes of the regional centers but also of their diversity. Yet the improvement that administrative status entails in the degree of the centers' trade involvement, in the access of the centers to the major transport networks and in the availability of relatively better infrastructure and services has even greater effects.

6.3.1 Demoted Centers

For Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba, Gondar, Jimma, Metu and Nekemte, towns that have been demoted of their regional status, two important changes occurred in the structure of the local economy. These are the reduced importance of the public sector due to the town's reduced administrative role and the increased importance of the informal sector. The basic features of the local economy and the major formal occupations of residents were in public administration, where the majority of the urban population is poor urban agriculture practiced to more or less important degrees serves as a means of retaining capital and supplementing income.

For instance, Gondar has a mainly informal sector where local beverage selling is predominant while urban agriculture i.e. poultry is also important. Comparatively, Jimma with its reduced administrative role saw the decrease in importance of its public sector against sever unemployment and the increased importance of informal trade and service. The only manufacturing activities are small-scale grain and oil mills, wood and metal workshops, and concrete hollow block production. Jimma's current administrative power is significantly smaller than in the past, yet as a zonal capital it still has zonal offices and parastatals, and a good position as a distribution center though its role in coffee marketing decreased due to recent liberalization of trade. Nekemte after the 1991 change of government like most previous administrative regional capitals saw the further division of its coverage region and is today a zonal capital. The current smaller area administered under Nekemte seems to have contributed to a reduced economic activity in the town particularly in trade.

6.3.2 Existing Centers

The centers in EC as unchanged regional capitals of relatively respectable size have been able to develop a comparatively stable housing production. Awassa though a trade and service prevalent center, its position as a regional capital led to the increasing role of the public administrative sector and to the establishment of several new industrial projects. This has recently accelerated the number of migrants to the town beyond its capacity. Mekelle relatively, functions as a market town and a northern transport node. Like some regional centers of the time it had problems of security and political instability in the 1980s and until recently the economic base was weak and urban employment was mostly in the informal sector or military dominated. Yet due to its new status and the fast growth of large industries, the town's inhabitants are now much less dependent on relief aid, which was part of the federal government Special Area Programs.

6.3.3 Promoted Centers

Meanwhile for the centers in PC the relatively undeveloped smaller sizes of the majority of the centers has affected the general performance. For Asosa, Aysaita, Bahir Dar, Gambella, and Jijiga, the redefinition of the administrative capitals with the relocation or construction of new regional government offices and sectoral offices meant the increase in employment opportunities, together with the improvement of the link with other towns. Furthermore associated with the new status conferred upon towns that have been upgraded, these centers are expected to deliver a package of housing and high order goods and services. Yet there has

been an influx of population following the designation as regional capitals accompanied by apparent rise in cost of living that has resulted in shortage of housing and basic urban services.

For instance Asosa though it has been promoted from special Kebele to main regional capital it seems that due to the recurrent wars and particularly that of 1989-92, the town was devastated especially the hospital and the schools. Considering this and because it is in a 'backward region' it has been included into the 1992 Special Area Programs, with the purpose of alleviating the particular problems related to war or drought. Aysaita as a border town is a center of informal trade but following the designation as a regional capital and due to the nearby well-developed commercial agriculture, migration to the town increased above the capacity of the available services, which led to the rise in cost of living. Similarly, Bahir Dar's function as an industrial center has been enhanced since it has been elevated to special zone status. Yet urban agriculture and the informal water transportation system the Dengel boats still play important parts in the local economy.

Jijiga is an important Chat and other agricultural market center but due to its location on the cross-border contraband route there are more informal than licensed trading. The change of the administrative capital of Somali from Gode to Jijiga; its function as an all together regional, zonal, and Wereda level capital; and the relocation of regional and sectoral offices helped the town to grow in importance and the number of employment opportunities to increase.

On the whole, Arba Minch, Asella, Asosa, Awassa, Aysaita, Gambella, Goba, Jijiga and Metu are once sparsely settled districts that recently gained importance as new agricultural communities due to political and administrative reasons. Meanwhile Bahir Dar, Debre Markos, Dessie, Gondar, and Harar are long standing attractions, of which some are growing into regional industrial centers.

Centers such as Jimma, and Nekemte, 'coffee-capitals' have grown as major trading centers whose economic base was mainly the processing of coffee for export. It seems that during the intercensal period 1984-1994, there is a structural change in the pattern of employment: the proportion in trade increased by contrast to the proportion in public administration sector for demoted centers while it was vise versa for upgraded centers.

7.CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

This study focused on exploring the variations in housing availability and quality in regional capitals of Ethiopia over the 1984-1994 period. Housing is a primary unit of habitation and is thus one of the three basic necessities of life (food, health, and shelter). It grants protection against physical insecurity of all kinds.

It is also considered as the first unit of the society. Because of its permanent nature housing reflects the socio-economic structure of the period in which it was developed. Different kinds of housing conditions emerge as a result of geographic, cultural, historic, socio-economic, demographic, and political forces acting on an area. Urban hierarchy restructuring is one such force, which modifies and creates new conditions.

Ethiopia in the 1984-94 period witnessed a government change in 1991 together with an ideology change from a centralized Marxist government to a market oriented federal government advocating decentralization and privatization. The current decentralization process makes a territorial approach to urban development planning possible by moving important amount of decision making powers from central government to lower level municipalities whether regional, zonal, or Wereda capitals. The administrative regional centers thus gained importance as the major development centers.

The 1990s urban restructuring maintained 3 of the 12 previous regional administrative capitals: Awassa, Harar, and Mekelle. Meanwhile the rest 9 centers: Arba Minch, Asella, Debre Markos, Dessie, Goba, Gondar, Jimma, Metu and Nekemte were given zonal center status. The redefinition as part of the decentralization program also included 5 newly upgraded centers: Asosa, Aysaita, Bahir Dar, Gambella, and Jijiga, which all gained regional capital status. The 1984-94 period was also an important intercensal period, for 1984 was the year of the first nationwide census while 1994 was the second nationwide census year.

This study, based on the above mentioned census reports, involved the use of two separate but related types of analysis. The first type dealt primarily with the description of the arrangement of individual regional centers; the second involved a comparative study over time of the similarities or dissimilarities of the individual distributions. In order to determine the characteristics of the distribution in housing availability and quality individual percentages and ratios for the centers under study were first considered.

The study established that there are considerable spatial variations in settlement size, patterns and trends in the regional capitals due to the difference in physical, land use, and population characteristics. The study also revealed that there is considerable variation in housing availability and quality between the centers in the different status categories. The analysis of the findings indicated that government concentration of investment on services and infrastructure in administrative centers, which then attracts private investment, seems a major influence. Hence housing availability and quality is linked to status change.

Close inspection of the distribution of the selected centers by category indicated that variations in the availability and quality of housing have spatial differentiation between regional centers of equal status. Cities with the highest percentage of availability and quality are concentrated in the highlands, have been long established and have socio-economic and natural endowments while cities with comparatively lowest percentages of housing availability and quality from their categories have bad climate and fewer development opportunities. For the verification or rejection of findings and to be certain that the differentiation maintains a stable or predictable relationship in the future these variations were then checked if they have been relevant in the past.

Investigation over the intercensal period (1984-94) of the changes in the selected centers by category indicated that variations in the availability and quality of housing have temporal differentiation between regional centers of equal status. Cities with the highest rate of growth in availability and quality have commercial agriculture and resettlement schemes in proximity, relatively better service and infrastructure provision while comparatively cities with lowest rates have slower migration rates and weaker economic base and infrastructure.

Every center has its own peculiarities with respect to weather conditions, availability of materials and labor and thus adopted its own methods of construction. Furthermore in Ethiopia Christianity has been powerful and equipped with all the learning of the age, it was the basis for the development of some centers. For instance Debre Markos grew as a great center of Christian learning. The growth of centers depended also on the military and commercial contacts with other countries. Asosa grew through such contacts with other areas, which gave

its residential layout its present character, while Harar has an early history of frequent invasions from outside, which led it to fortify Jegol, the current center-city. Building material availability in the proximity further defined the character of the housing. For instance Gambella has a large percentage of its units with tatched roof while Mekelle has a large percentage of its units with stone wall, all due to easy local access.

The growth of the secondary cities under consideration is mainly due to their central locations in productive agricultural lands, due to their linkages with other cities through road or water transportation, and due to their involvement in commerce and trade. But their initial selection as defensible positions contributed also in the development of the centers. From the observations, topographical features and functional aspects are responsible for the founding and organization of the regional centers. Ethiopia is divided through long ranges of mountain faults and gorges into series of separated plains where different communities lived enclosed with their own social life, which varied greatly from place to place.

Hence once the centers have been established these grew in different ways with the passage of time. Yet employment opportunities, functional capabilities, and provision of services and infrastructure depended on their political importance, which enhanced or restricted the growth of the centers. Though today these centers are relatively attractive service giving centers, their sustainable development depended on their position in the administrative hierarchy.

The investment that comes with the designation of a city as a regional or zonal administration center seems to have been an important element of urban growth in most of the considered

centers. The physical improvements in the infrastructure and investment in the provision of basic services by government whether local or central in turn helped the centers to not only play political roles but also to increase their strength as a crossroad of commerce and trade. Most of the considered centers were traditionally administrative centers through which warlords and sovereigns maintained political control over land and extracted revenues from the hinterlands. These centers due to their position also got preference for allocation of investment in modern services, infrastructure and transportation.

The choice of the seat of strategic regional administrative capitals during the Derg period was based on population size. Since 1974 up until 1991 the provision of housing and basic amenities in the regional centers was controlled and financed by the central government. However, the public enterprises were limited in their capacity and were unable to meet the demands and the private sector was marginilized (Diamantini, 1996; Birke Yami, 1997; Worku Yehualashet, 1997; PADCO, 1998).

After 1991 the market-oriented strategy of the new government allowed the participation of the private sector in development activities all over the country. The Derg regime was noted for its deliberate attempts to equalize development through the strengthening of regional capitals in economic growth and accumulation of services and facilities. Yet the new government also supported the expansion of these development activities away from Addis Ababa to the secondary regional capitals and centers. This opens up some new possibilities for the housing sector in these towns.

Despite the difficult social and economic ups and downs of the intercensal period (1984-94) the total housing stock in the 17 regional centers increased by about 75 thousand units. The total newly formed households increased by 77thousand during the same period. This implies that the performance of the housing sector (without considering the already existing housing availability and quality conditions) was better in DC where the number of new units produced during the period slightly exceeds the number of new household formation. Meanwhile in PC, the household formation outpaced the housing delivery system, which led to the decrease in average unit size testified by the decline in average number of rooms per housing unit and increase in room density. On the other hand, tenure security decreased after 1991in all the centers with the allowance of the private involvement in the housing sector.

Given Derg imposed constraints on private sector development and nationalization of all land and extra houses, the housing market was pressurized during the 1980s by growing demand and highly constrained supply. It is therefore not at all surprising that the majority of the increase in the housing stock took place in unplanned areas and that residential densities increased due to the subdivision of rooms and the construction of secondary units within compounds. The general increase of the illegal settlements over these last years was accompanied by the growth of the residential land coverage, which more than doubled for most urban centers. The municipalities' land approval departments, despite the absence of neighborhood subdivision plan, have in most cases been issuing title deeds and granting approval for construction. Such formal sanction has its advantage where tenure security confers value on a property however the quality of the resulting neighborhoods especially with respect to infrastructure and urban service levels is extremely low. Solid waste collection is

either non-existent or quite low. Without collection system households typically dump their trash in open areas along streets and in watercourses.

Despite seasonally heavy rains and continuing problems with flooding few areas are provided with drainage facilities. This insufficient coverage in cities given most of the ragged or bowl shaped characters of the centers and the perennial flooding problems poses serious health risks to the urban population.

Finally it is possible to conclude that same status towns have variations in housing availability and quality due to their diverse physical and development characteristics. The new status brought change in housing availability and quality due to the socio-economic changes it brought with it. Yet the absence of effective policy is the major cause for the inadequate management and construction of housing units. There is also a general dominance of the informal sector and uncontrollable illegal settlements.

The combined pressure of the accelerated population growth and the slow implementation of the new land lease laws in the regional capitals have dramatically decreased the 'affordability of housing' (see annexes 2 and 3). In general in the current distorted housing markets of the Ethiopian urban centers residential land costs on average represent 2/3 of total housing development costs (PADCO, 1998). Furthermore due to the (on average) low incomes of households there is little left for housing expenditure after that spent on food and health. Identification of the above key points where policy measures can exert influence will help in directing and controlling outcomes.

It is still too early to predict the effects of the new positions for the regional centers. Yet the fact that centers within DC had smaller regional coverage in 1994 than that of 1984 could be an impediment to their growth while centers within EC and PC had greater coverage, which could accelerate their development.

7.2 Recommendation

The purpose of this study has been to explore changes in availability and quality due to redefinition during the intercensal period (1984-1994), yet some of the results are incomplete because these await further empirical evidence. Nevertheless, based on the above mentioned findings the study suggests the following areas of policy interventions and areas of emphasis.

At the local level:

> "The financial economic and creative concentration of power in cities will continue to be extraordinary [the question is] how to manage the urban environment, how to get people to work on time and safely, provide housing at reasonable costs... promote capacity building, provide education, and develop reliable information about the city's assets..." (http://www.citydev.org/)

Internationally the last couple of decades emerged as decades of profound impact on cities with the increasing decentralization of powers from national to local levels both politically and fiscally giving cities power to make decisions about allocating funds, setting tax rates, and investing in themselves. Ethiopia is no exception. Every locality has now the power to prepare certain rules and regulations, which will help in controlling the development of the locality and ensuring safety of the public. But it should also be to set the standards for minimum size of

rooms, building height, street line, built-up area ratio, floor area, function, ownership, etc. as one of the important duties of a local municipal authority is to frame and approve suitable building regulations and to provide suitable infrastructure.

It should however be observed that the procedures and permissions for construction should be easy. There should be adequate staff for effective implementation of the regulations and the procedural requirements should be reduced to a minimum. Furthermore the regulations should be given wide publicity to make the public aware of them.

At the Urban Planning level:

As yet no standard methodology that deal with spatial variations has evolved although individual standard components of planning are used such as estimation of the basic activities population, employment and housing. The prime mover in such kind of system is the one placing the strongest constraints on the others. Here status change translated in employment opportunity is the prime determinant of general demand levels linking population to housing. Employment opportunities in a city reflect the income of the inhabitants and in turn the quality of the housing. Hence status change leads to change in labor demand, which leads to change in population demand, which leads in turn to change in housing demand.

Change in labor demand involves change in activity rate while change in population demand involves change in migration rate followed by change in household size and change in occupancy rate. On the other hand change in housing demand involves change in the building

rate. On another perspective there are increasing number of housing units used for mixed purposes besides residential and a housing policy must take this into consideration.

> "In a context where sharing of services and facilities is a very common habit, mingling of functions assumes a strategic role for planning and housing policies particularly in relation to envisaged stock and land use patterns and more generally , for the urban standards design." (Diamantini, 1996, p.190).

Together with this planners and municipal authorities as the ultimate decision-makers must find a way to legalize and introduce infrastructure in squatter settlements while preventing further illegal expansion. This would encourage community-based housing developments.

At the National level:

The immediate creation f a housing research unit and the preparation of a general housing policy guideline is required more than ever. The focus should be to promote local architecture and building materials through research.

Areas of further Research:

While no attempt has been made in this paper to 'explain on a statistical basis the administrative changes brought about in terms of other aspects it is hoped that in the formulation of the problem, the foundation is laid for future investigation of the forwarded interpretations. In line with this future investigations could be on subjects such as: 1- The change in economic activities and related labor demand brought about by the status change. 2- The size of the attracted investment of the public as well as the private sector could be one aspect. 3- The population dynamics and related out migration from the administrative centers

is another aspect. Of course these are but a few aspects of the vast changes that come up with status change.

I hope this study adds to our knowledge that because the considered regional centers are at different stages of development and have different resource bases they require different solutions to ultimately redress inequalities in the access to basic goods and services and in the access to development opportunities.

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ANNEX – 1 – ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS

ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS OF DEMOTED CENTERS IN 1984 AND 1994

N	Urban center	Administrative status in 1984					Administrative status in 1994				
		Region	Awraja	Wereda	Number of Keftegna	Number of Kebele	Region	Zone	Wereda	Number of Keftegna	Number of Kebele
1	Arba Minch	Gamo Goffa	Gamo	Arba Minch Zuria	—	4	SNNP**	Semen Omo	Arba Minch Zuria	—	6
2	Asella	Arsi	Chilalo	Tiyo	—	14	Oromia state	Arsi	Tiyo	2	14
3	Debre Markos	Gojjam	Debre Markos	Gozamen	—	11	Amhara state	Misrak Gojjam	Debre Markos	—	11
4	Dessie	Wello	Dessie Zuria	Dessie Zuria	3	20	Amhara state	Debub Wello	Dessie	3	20
5	Goba	Bale	Mendeyo	Goba Zuria	—	6	Oromia state	Bale	Goba	—	6
6	Gondar	Gondar	Gondar	Gondar	—	20	Amhara state	Semen Gondar	Gondar	4	21
7	Jimma	Keffa	Jimma	Jimma	3	20	Oromia state	Jimma	Kersa	3	20
8	Metu	Illubabor	Sorna Geba	Metu	—	4	Oromia state	Illubabor	Metu	—	4
9	Nekemte	Wellega	Nekemte	Guto Guida	—	9	Oromia state	Misrak Wellega	Guto Wayu	—	9

SNNP**: Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's State.
Source: NUPI, the Master Plans and the Development Plans Executive Summaries, Addis Ababa.

ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS OF EXISTING CENTERS IN 1984 AND 1994

N	Urban center	Administrative status in 1984					Administrative status in 1994				
		Region	Awraja	Wereda	Number of Keftegna	Number of Kebele	Region	Zone	Wereda	Number of Keftegna	Number of Kebele
1	Awassa	Sidamo	Sidamo	Awassa Zuria	2	12	SNNP**	Sidamo	Awassa	2	14
2	Harar	Hararghe	Harar Zuria	Hundanie	—	19	Harari state	Harar Town	Harar Town	3	19
3	Mekelle	Tigray	Enderta	Enderta	2	20	Tigray state	Debubawi Tigray	Mekelle	3	20

SNNP**: Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's State.
Source: NUPI, the Master Plans and the Development Plans Executive Summaries, Addis Ababa.

ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS OF PROMOTED CENTERS IN 1984 AND 1994

N	Urban center	Administrative status in 1984					Administrative status in 1994				
		Region	Awraja	Wereda	Number of Keftegna	Number of Kebele	Region	Zone	Wereda	Number of Keftegna	Number of Kebele
1	Asosa	Wellega	Asosa	Asosa	—	2	Benishangul-Gumuz state	Asosa	Asosa	—	2
2	Aysaita	Wello	Awssa	Awssa	—	4	Affar state	One	Aysaita	—	4
3	Bahir Dar	Gojjam	Bahir Dar	Bahir Dar Zuria	—	13	Amhara state	Bahir Dar Special	Bahir Dar	2	17
4	Gambella	Illubabor	Gambella	Gambella	—	1	Gambella state	One	Gambella	1	2
5	Jijiga	Hararghe	Jijiga	Jijiga	—	6	Somali state	Jigjiga	Jigjiga	—	6

Source: NUPI, the Master Plans and the Development Plans Executive Summaries, Addis Ababa.

ANNEX – 2 – POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

POPULATION COMPOSITION OF DEMOTED CENTERS

N	Urban centers	Sex		Sex ratio	Age			Dependency ratio	Major ethnic groups						Religion	
		Male	Female		0-14 years	15-59 years	60 and over		Name	% share	Name	% share	Name	%	Christian	Muslim
1	Arba Minch	50.2%	49.8%	99.1%	39.2%	58.6%	2.3%	70.8%	Gamo	43.8%	Amara	24.8%	Welamo	12.5%	95.1%	3.9%
2	Asella	46.4%	53.6%	115.5%	36.1%	58.8%	5.1%	70.1%	Amara	48.0%	Oromo	35.7%	Gurage	11.8%	86.6%	13.2%
3	Debre Markos	46.1%	53.9%	116.7%	35.9%	56.1%	7.9%	78.1%	Amara	97.1%	Tigre	1.3%	Oromo	0.7%	98.1%	1.9%
4	Dessie	46.6%	53.4%	114.6%	34.8%	58.0%	7.2%	72.3%	Amara	92.8%	Tigre	4.5%	Gurage	0.6%	61.3%	38.5%
5	Goba	46.4%	53.6%	115.6%	37.5%	56.1%	6.3%	78.2%	Amara	59.9%	Oromo	33.5%	Gurage	2.4%	87.3%	12.6%
6	Gondar	45.8%	54.2%	118.5%	38.7%	55.4%	5.9%	80.6%	Amara	88.9%	Tigre	6.7%	Kemant	2.4%	83.8%	15.8%
7	Jimma	49.4%	50.6%	102.6%	36.1%	59.6%	4.3%	67.7%	Oromo	36.5%	Amara	22.9%	Kulo	12.5%	66.4%	33.2%
8	Metu	50.2%	49.8%	99.2%	36.9%	58.4%	4.7%	71.2%	Oromo	67.9%	Amara	20.3%	Gurage	6.6%	76.9%	22.9%
9	Nekemte	48.3%	51.7%	106.9%	37.8%	57.8%	4.4%	72.9%	Oromo	79.4%	Amara	14.8%	Gurage	3.4%	87.1%	12.6%
	Average	47.7%	52.3%	109.9%	37.0%	57.7%	5.3%	73.5%	Amara	77.4%	Amara	20.7%	Gurage	5.0%	82.5%	17.2%

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

POPULATION COMPOSITION OF EXISTING CENTERS

N	Urban centers	Sex		Sex ratio	Age			Dependency ratio	Major ethnic groups						Religion	
		Male	Female		0-14 years	15-59 years	60 and over		Name	%	Name	% share	Name	%	Christian	Muslim
1	Awassa	50.6%	49.4%	97.5%	39.1%	58.6%	2.3%	70.6%	Amara	31.4%	Welamo	26.1%	Oromo	11.7%	95.2%	4.1%
2	Harar	49.0%	51.0%	104.0%	31.1%	64.6%	4.3%	54.9%	Amara	55.1%	Oromo	22.0%	Adere	11.9%	66.8%	32.8%
3	Mekelle	47.2%	52.8%	112.0%	41.4%	52.5%	6.1%	90.5%	Tigre	96.5%	Amara	1.6%	Oromo	0.2%	92.2%	7.7%
	Average	48.9%	51.1%	104.5%	37.2%	58.6%	4.2%	72.0%	**Amara**	**43.3%**	**Welamo**	**26.1%**	**Oromo**	**5.9%**	**84.7%**	**14.9%**

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

POPULATION COMPOSITION OF PROMOTED CENTERS

N	Urban centers	Sex		Sex ratio	Age			Dependency ratio	Major ethnic groups						Religion	
		Male	Female		0-14 years	15-59 years	60 and over		Name	% share	Name	%	Name	%	Christian	Muslim
1	Asosa	53.8%	46.2%	85.8%	34.8%	62.5%	2.7%	60.1%	Oromo	41.2%	Amara	29.9%	Gurage	4.2%	69.9%	29.7%
2	Aysaita	52.7%	47.3%	89.9%	29.0%	68.8%	2.2%	45.3%	Amara	64.2%	Affar	25.0%	Oromo	4.7%	*N.A	*N.A
3	Bahir Dar	47.3%	52.7%	111.6%	36.6%	60.6%	2.8%	65.0%	Amara	93.2%	Tigre	4.0%	Oromo	0.7%	88.4%	11.5%
4	Gambella	53.9%	46.1%	85.4%	35.6%	61.9%	2.5%	61.5%	Anyiwak	33.8%	Oromo	26.1%	Amara	14.2%	84.6%	5.7%
5	Jijiga	50.6%	49.4%	97.8%	39.7%	56.1%	4.2%	78.2%	Somale	61.6%	Amara	23.3%	Oromo	7.3%	*N.A	*N.A
6	Average	51.7%	48.3%	94.1%	35.1%	62.0%	2.9%	62.0%	**Amara**	**78.7%**	**Amara**	**26.6%**	**Oromo**	**4.2%**	81.0%	15.6%

*N.A.: Not Available
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

ANNEX – 2 – POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

MIGRATION STATUS OF DEMOTED CENTERS

N	Urban Centers	Migrants				Length of residence less than 5 years		Length of residence less than 10 years		Area of previous residence 1994	
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	1984	1994	Urban	Rural
1	Arba Minch	22.9%	62.4%	20187	18.3%	54.4%	40.5%	73.6%	57.4%	39.7%	60.3%
2	Asella	*N.A	50.7%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	36.6%	*N.A	51.5%	46.6%	53.4%
3	Debre Markos	10.3%	38.1%	14443	16.0%	42.3%	43.9%	56.1%	58.4%	48.3%	51.7%
4	Dessie	9.8%	40.6%	32220	18.8%	33.0%	39.0%	44.3%	52.3%	49.6%	50.4%
5	Goba	21.9%	41.9%	6813	8.9%	53.9%	43.1%	71.9%	55.5%	58.5%	41.5%
6	Gondar	13.5%	35.9%	29171	13.9%	39.1%	39.9%	54.1%	52.1%	36.5%	50.0%
7	Jimma	23.1%	46.1%	26710	11.3%	40.4%	37.0%	53.9%	52.7%	48.4%	51.5%
8	Metu	24.8%	51.1%	6599	11.8%	47.7%	38.4%	63.3%	54.2%	59.2%	40.8%
9	Nekemte	16.8%	40.9%	14438	14.9%	54.4%	48.7%	67.3%	66.1%	58.8%	25.6%
	Average	**17.9%**	**45.3%**	**18823**	**14.2%**	**45.6%**	**40.8%**	**60.6%**	**55.6%**	**49.5%**	**47.2%**

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

MIGRATION STATUS OF EXISTING CENTERS

N	Urban Centers	Migrants				Length of residence less than 5 years		Length of residence less than 10 years		Area of previous residence 1994	
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	1984	1994	Urban	Rural
1	Awassa	30.8%	55.2%	26865	13.0%	47.4%	43.4%	63.6%	58.0%	59.0%	40.9%
2	Harar	20.9%	34.5%	12971	7.1%	39.1%	35.0%	54.4%	48.0%	61.3%	38.3%
3	Mekelle	6.0%	56.5%	50881	30.7%	51.4%	63.9%	64.3%	71.2%	64.4%	35.6%
	Average	**19.2%**	**48.7%**	**30239**	**16.9%**	**46.0%**	**47.4%**	**60.8%**	**59.0%**	**61.5%**	**38.3%**

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

MIGRATION STATUS OF PROMOTED CENTERS

N	Urban Centers	Migrants				Length of residence less than 5 years		Length of residence less than 10 years		Area of previous residence 1994	
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	1984	1994	Urban	Rural
1	Asosa	*N.A	64.9%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	56.7%	*N.A	74.3%	69.0%	30.6%
2	Aysaita	10.1%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	39.3%	*N.A	58.8%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A
3	Bahir Dar	30.8%	54.1%	34816	11.9%	46.6%	43.3%	60.5%	58.6%	45.9%	54.1%
4	Gambella	*N.A	55.8%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	49.8%	*N.A	72.0%	57.1%	45.3%
5	Jijiga	18.0%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	47.2%	*N.A	66.3%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A
	Average	19.6%	58.3%	34816	11.9%	44.4%	49.9%	**61.9%**	**68.3%**	**57.3%**	**43.3%**

*N.A.: Not Available.
Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

ANNEX – 2 – POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

LITERACY STATUS IN DEMOTED CENTERS

n	Urban centers	Illiterate				Literate				Primary as highest grade completed			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Arba Minch	22.4%	20.9%	3,282	7.7%	77.6%	78.9%	13,280	8.6%	62.9%	43.0%	3,661	4.6%
2	Asella	*N.A	16.8%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	83.1%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	33.6%	*N.A	*N.A
3	Debre Markos	29.3%	28.6%	2,750	2.9%	70.7%	71.4%	7,654	3.2%	52.8%	35.2%	-880	-0.8%
4	Dessie	25.0%	21.4%	3,578	2.5%	75.0%	78.4%	21,672	4.6%	54.2%	35.8%	733	0.3%
5	Goba	19.2%	17.0%	715	2.1%	80.8%	82.9%	5,446	3.6%	75.6%	35.4%	-3192	-3.9%
6	Gondar	26.5%	26.9%	8,524	4.7%	73.5%	73.0%	22,213	4.5%	63.8%	40.4%	-437	-0.2%
7	Jimma	21.2%	19.9%	4,830	4.4%	78.8%	80.0%	22,024	5.2%	62.8%	43.5%	3,088	1.4%
8	Metu	26.7%	21.9%	808	2.9%	73.3%	77.9%	4,857	5.6%	62.4%	45.7%	1,105	2.4%
9	Nekemte	21.1%	21.3%	3,443	6.1%	78.9%	78.6%	12,514	6.0%	56.0%	38.1%	1,916	2.0%
	Average/ Total	**23.9%**	**21.6%**	**27,930**	**4.2%**	**76.1%**	**78.3%**	**109,660**	**5.2%**	**61.3%**	**39.0%**	**5,995**	**0.7%**

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

LITERACY STATUS IN EXISTING CENTERS

N	Urban centers	Illiterate				Literate				Primary as highest grade completed			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Awassa	23.1%	17.4%	3,502	5.0%	76.9%	82.5%	24,350	8.8%	57.2%	38.1%	5,744	4.4%
2	Harar	25.0%	19.8%	977	0.8%	75.0%	79.6%	15,637	3.9%	52.9%	30.7%	-2764	-1.7%
3	Mekelle	38.1%	30.1%	5,572	3.0%	61.9%	69.7%	24,088	6.8%	62.0%	53.7%	10,791	5.2%
	Average/ Total	28.7%	22.4%	10,051	3.0%	71.3%	77.2%	64,075	6.5%	57.4%	40.8%	13,771	2.7%

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

LITERACY STATUS IN PROMOTED CENTERS

N	Urban centers	Illiterate				Literate				Primary as highest grade completed			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth
1	Asosa	*N.A	22.0%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	77.0%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	41.9%	*N.A	*N.A
2	Aysaita	29.1%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	70.9%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	73.4%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A
3	Bahir Dar	27.2%	28.6%	10,858	7.4%	72.7%	71.3%	25,230	6.7%	63.9%	36.9%	1,834	1.0%
4	Gambella	*N.A	27.8%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	71.9%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	47.6%	*N.A	*N.A
5	Jijiga	34.8%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	65.2%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	65.0%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A
	Average/ Total	30.4%	26.2%	10,858	7.4%	69.6%	73.4%	25,230	6.7%	67.4%	42.2%	1,834	1.0%

*N.A.: Not Available.

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

ANNEX – 2 – POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

ACTIVITY STATUS OF DEMOTED CENTERS

N	Urban centers	Activity rate				Unemployment rate				Without work experience			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition n	growth
1	Arba Minch	39.7%	50.4%	9802	11.1%	6.9%	16.7%	2146	21.3%	5.7%	79.7%	1700	23.2%
2	Asella	*N.A	44.3%	16507	*N.A	*N.A	27.4%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	81.6%	*N.A	*N.A
3	Debre Markos	36.9%	46.1%	7473	5.5%	3.9%	20.0%	3212	24.2%	2.4%	88.8%	2965	9.8%
4	Dessie	34.3%	40.9%	13721	6.0%	6.8%	25.5%	6774	20.9%	5.8%	81.7%	5494	23.6%
5	Goba	29.7%	41.8%	4489	7.0%	7.2%	16.6%	1186	16.3%	1.6%	79.7%	1139	1.7%
6	Gondar	36.9%	43.4%	16896	6.3%	8.1%	17.2%	4737	14.6%	6.0%	74.5%	3537	14.4%
7	Jimma	38.4%	46.1%	15707	7.0%	6.7%	21.2%	5687	20.0%	4.6%	80.0%	4676	14.7%
8	Metu	44.1%	42.2%	2238	4.5%	2.8%	9.9%	506	18.6%	1.1%	76.7%	430	7.8%
9	Nekemte	38.6%	44.4%	8284	7.5%	3.7%	19.4%	2826	26.9%	2.8%	78.5%	2228	25.3%
	Average/ Total	37.3%	44.4%	95117	6.8%	5.8%	19.3%	27073	20.4%	3.8%	80.2%	22169	15.1%

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

ACTIVITY STATUS OF EXISTING CENTERS

N	Urban centers	Activity rate				Unemployment rate				Without work experience			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition n	growth
1	Awassa	40.2%	46.5%	14507	9.6%	6.5%	19.3%	4049	22.2%	1.8%	89.0%	3992	1.2%
2	Harar	34.2%	45.1%	12618	6.1%	7.3%	27.1%	6499	21.0%	5.5%	76.7%	5003	20.3%
3	Mekelle	36.3%	38.9%	12735	6.2%	7.6%	11.6%	2095	10.9%	5.0%	73.9%	1644	7.9%
	Average/ Total	36.9%	43.5%	39860	7.3%	7.1%	19.4%	12644	18.0%	4.1%	79.9%	10639	9.8%

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

ACTIVITY STATUS OF PROMOTED CENTERS

N	Urban centers	Activity rate				Unemployment rate				Without work experience			
		1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition	Growth	1984	1994	Addition n	growth
1	Asosa	*N.A	51.5%	4577	*N.A	*N.A	11.9%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	95.1%	*N.A	*N.A
2	Aysaita	54.3%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	8.2%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	6.7%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A
3	Bahir Dar	47.1%	50.1%	19226	7.5%	2.6%	16.2%	5567	29.1%	1.3%	86.1%	4963	13.6%
4	Gambella	*N.A	40.7%	5616	*N.A	*N.A	15.6%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	90.2%	*N.A	*N.A
5	Jijiga	40.1%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	8.7%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A	4.5%	*N.A	*N.A	*N.A
	Average/ Total	47.2%	47.4%	29419	7.5%	6.5%	14.6%	5567	29.1%	4.2%	90.5%	4963	13.6%

*N.A.: Not Available.

Source: CSA, 1984 and 1994 Population and housing Censuses, Addis Ababa.

ANNEX –2 POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

HOUSEHOLD INCOME LEVEL FOR DEMOTED CENTERS

Urban Centers	Income group in Birr per month				
	Below 50	50-350	350-750	750-1350	1350 and over
Arba Minch	4.1%	60.2%	27.4%	9.9%	7.1%
Asella	4.1%	60.2%	27.4%	9.9%	7.1%
Debre Markos	4.1%	60.2%	27.4%	9.9%	7.1%
Dessie	4.6%	65.3%	18.9%	6.6%	2.5%
Goba	4.1%	60.2%	27.4%	9.9%	7.1%
Gondar	4.5%	42.0%	29.0%	9.7%	8.3%
Jimma	1.0%	47.7%	28.9%	14.8%	7.1%
Metu	4.1%	60.2%	27.4%	9.9%	7.1%
Nekemte	4.1%	60.2%	27.4%	9.9%	7.1%

Source: CSA, 1998b, p. 328-329.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME LEVEL FOR EXISTING CENTERS

Urban Centers	Income group in Birr per month				
	Below 50	50-350	350-750	750-1350	1350 and over
Awassa	4.1%	60.2%	27.4%	9.9%	7.1%
Harar	2.3%	32.1%	35.6%	13.4%	15.9%
Mekelle	3.0%	59.1%	23.9%	9.7%	4.2%

Source: CSA, 1998b, p. 328-329.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME LEVEL FOR PROMOTED CENTERS

Urban Centers	Income group in Birr per month				
	Below 50	50-350	350-750	750-1350	1350 and over
Asosa	4.1%	60.2%	27.4%	9.9%	7.1%
Aysaita	4.1%	60.2%	27.4%	9.9%	7.1%
Bahir Dar	9.4%	42.5%	32.3%	10.2%	10.2%
Gambella	4.6%	65.3%	18.9%	6.6%	2.5%
Jijiga	4.1%	60.2%	27.4%	9.9%	7.1%

Source: CSA, 1998b, p. 328-329.

ANNEX – 3 HOUSING UNIT PRICE

Housing unit price per m^2 for different materials

Year	Building material price in Birr per m^2 of built floor area		
	Chicka (mud)	Hollow block	Brick
1976	200	230	250
1978	270	320	350
1982	365	410	450
1986	415	475	525
1990	510	610	625
1993	700	800	875

Source: Tilahun Fekade, 1997, p. 122.

Approximate Core housing unit price for 1993

Description	Size in m^2	Chicka (mud) house price in Birr	Hollow Block house price in Birr	Brick house price in Birr
Core housing unit (2 room, kitchen and toilet)	14	9800	11200	12250
Infrastructure (water, electricity, etc.)	___	2500	2500	2500
Total unit price	___	10500	13700	14750

Source: Author's computations.

ANNEX – 4BUDGETS, REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES OF THE REGIONS

REVENUE OF THE REGIONAL STATES

N	Regional State	Expenditure for 1994/95 In million Birr	Revenue for 1994/95		Budget of 1994/95 In million Birr	Share of Central Treasury, in %
			In million Birr	% of Expenditure		
1	Affar	141.85	8.56	6.0%	88.55	61.00
2	Amhara	741.35	121.24	16.4%	293.01	204.00
3	Benishangul-Gumuz	106.68	4.86	4.6%	59.97	33.45
4	Gambella	90.14	3.05	3.4%	55.54	37.30
5	Harari	40.94	7.85	19.2%	14.30	11.00
6	Oromia	1039.53	236.19	22.7%	367.13	214.64
7	Somali	165.14	47.83	29.0%	86.70	54.55
8	Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples	608.03	96.12	15.8%	260.69	192.46
9	Tigray	327.77	51.9	15.8%	180.39	156.39

Source: MEDaC, 1995. Inter-regional data on some aspects of economic and infrastructure conditions in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

SHARE OF SECTORS FROM CAPITAL BUDGET

N	Regional State	Sector							
		Agriculture Development	Natural Resource and Water Development and Mining	Energy and Industry	Transport Communication and Road Construction	Education	Health	Urban Development and Housing	Public and Administrative Buildings
1	Affar	18.4%	24.3%	0.0%	5.3%	19.7%	13.7%	9.8%	8.9%
2	Amhara	18.3%	19.9%	0.9%	11.4%	17.6%	15.7%	7.9%	8.1%
3	Benishangul-Gumuz	4.8%	9.1%	0.0%	9.5%	38.8%	20.7%	10.0%	7.1%
4	Gambella	14.1%	20.6%	0.0%	4.3%	23.3%	22.0%	9.5%	5.9%
5	Harari	2.0%	58.5%	0.0%	0.0%	12.7%	10.6%	0.0%	16.3%
6	Oromia	22.7%	38.8%	0.1%	9.7%	13.8%	7.5%	3.1%	4.1%
7	Somali	12.2%	15.7%	0.1%	3.7%	27.7%	21.9%	8.1%	10.5%
8	SNNP*	19.6%	12.7%	0.0%	9.5%	17.9%	20.8%	12.0%	7.5%
9	Tigray	8.1%	25.2%	0.1%	17.9%	25.7%	14.6%	4.6%	3.8%

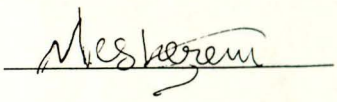
SNNP*: Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples

Source: MEDaC, 1995. Inter-regional data on some aspects of economic and infrastructure conditions in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Meskerem Shawul

Signature 

Place: Addis Ababa University

Date of Submission: May, 2000

The thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University advisor.

Solomon Mulugeta (Ph.D)

May, 2000